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Papers

of the

American Society of Church History

Second Series

Volume V.

Board of Editors

Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr. Edward Payson Johnson

John Alfred Faulkner William Walker Rockwell

Managing Editor

William Walker Rockwell

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ACT OF INCORPORATION

LAWS OF NEW YORK

Chap. 82

AN ACT to incorporate The American Society of Church History, Incorporated.

Became a law March 30, 1916, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, William Walker Rockwell, Henry James Weber, Robert Hastings Nichols, Francis Albert Christie, Joseph Cullen Ayer, junior, James Isaac Good, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn, Frederick William Loetscher, James Coffin Stout, Austin B. Keep, William A. Schwarze, and George Edwin Horr and their successors in office chosen from time to time are hereby incorporated and are declared to be a body corporate of the state of New York by the name of The American Society of Church History, Incorporated, and by such name shall be known and shall have perpetual succession with the powers, limitations and restrictions herein contained.

Section 2. The objects of the corporation shall be to promote and stimulate historical study and research generally, but particularly in the department of church history; to discover, collect and preserve historical manuscripts; to print, publish and cause to be distributed, papers, books, writings, reports, articles and data bearing on or in anywise relating to church history or containing the results of the researches or other activities of its members; to establish and maintain traveling fellowships to carry out or to maintain any of the foregoing purposes;

to hold conventions or meetings of its members; to establish and maintain a library; to establish and maintain endowments for any of the foregoing purposes; to acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, and to hold real and personal estate so far as may be necessary in carrying out its lawful purposes; and to mortgage, sell, lease or otherwise dispose of any real or personal estate according to law.

Section 3. The corporation hereby created shall have all the powers and be subject to all the restrictions which now or hereafter may pertain by law to membership corporations in so far as the same are applicable to and not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

Section 4. The acts done by the above named persons on the twenty-seventh day of December, nineteen hundred and fifteen, in adopting by-laws, electing officers and passing resolutions so far as they are consistent with this act are hereby ratified and declared to be valid.

Section 5. This act shall take effect immediately.

CONSTITUTION[1]

ARTICLE I

NAME

Section 1. This corporation shall be known as the AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

ARTICLE II

OBJECTS

Section 1. The particular objects for which the corporation is to be formed are: to promote and stimulate historical study and research generally, but particularly in the department of Church History; to discover, collect and preserve historical manuscripts; to print, publish, and cause to be distributed, papers, books, writings, reports, articles and data bearing on or in anywise relating to Church History or containing the results of the researches or other activities of its members; to establish and maintain traveling fellowships to carry out or to maintain any of the foregoing purposes; to hold conventions or meetings of its members; to establish and maintain a library; to establish and maintain endowments for any of the foregoing purposes; to acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, and to hold real and personal property so far as may be necessary in carrying out its lawful purposes; and to mortgage, sell, lease or otherwise dispose of any real or personal estate according to law.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERS

Section 1. The members of each class shall have equal rights and privileges in the corporation.

[1] Approved by the Council, May 15, 1915, and adopted by the Society, December 27, 1915.

Section 2. Candidates for membership shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Council. On receipt of an application for membership with proposer and seconder, the Secretary shall send the name of such candidate to each member of the Council and on receipt of letters of approval of such candidate from a majority of the members of the Council, such candidate shall become and be entitled to all the rights and privileges of members of the corporation.

Section 3. All persons interested in Church History shall be eligible to membership.

ARTICLE IV

MANAGEMENT

Section 1. The management of the corporation shall be in the board of directors, which shall be called the Council and which shall consist of the officers enumerated in Article "V" hereof, the ex-Presidents, and two other members to be elected annually. Whenever the number of persons so constituting the Council shall exceed the number of directors permitted by the Charter, then the ex-President who has been longest out of office shall cease automatically to be a member of the Council; and if the number still remaining be greater than permitted, the next ex-President who has been longest out of office shall automatically cease to be a member of the Council. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled by the members thereof until the next annual meeting. Whenever the number of persons so constituting the Council shall be less than the total number required by the Charter, then the number of members elected to the Council at the annual meeting shall be increased so as to make the membership of the Council correspond with the requirements of the Charter.

Section 2. The Council shall have power to suspend or expel members of the corporation for cause and to restore them to membership after a suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given opportunity to be heard.

Section 3. The property of the corporation shall be vested in, and the affairs of the corporation conducted by, the Council.

Section 4. The Council shall have no power to bind the corporation to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the corporation, except by the consent of every member of the Council expressed in writing.

Section 5. The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the corporation including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, the arrangement of programs, the determination of papers to be published and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the corporation shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be elected by ballot for the term of one year at the annual meeting of the members. No President shall be elected to succeed himself. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the incorporators to act until the first annual meeting of the members.

Section 2. Vacancies in any office may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VI

FEES AND DUES

Section 1. The annual dues for active members shall be Three Dollars; for sustaining members Ten Dollars. On payment of One Hundred Dollars at any one time, any individual member, not a library, may become a life member exempt from dues.

ARTICLE VII

MEETINGS

Section 1. The annual meeting of the members of the corporation shall be held on the last Monday of December of each

year. Notice thereof shall be sent by mail to each member at least two weeks prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the members may be called at any time by the Council.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business by the corporation, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

ARTICLE VIII

SEAL

Section 1. The seal of the corporation shall bear the name of the corporation in Latin, with the date of its foundation, together with an emblematic lamp, and the motto *Christiani nihil a me alienum puto.*

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present at any legally constituted annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendments shall be given in writing at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.

BY-LAWS[1]

ARTICLE I

MEMBERS AND PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. One copy of each of the publications which are issued after his election shall be sent to each member, who has paid dues at least once and is not in arrears for more than two years; but libraries shall be expected to pay dues only for those years in which the corporation publishes a volume.

[1] Adopted by the Society, December 27, 1915.

ARTICLE II

THE COUNCIL

Section 1. The Council may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, but no such rules shall be inconsistent with the By-Laws and Constitution of the corporation. Five members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The Council shall hold at least one meeting in each year, when it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership, and shall transact such other business as may legally come before it.

Section 3. The Council shall, at each annual meeting of the corporation, render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

ARTICLE III

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. The President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, shall preside at all meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary President from the members present.

Section 2. The Secretary shall notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting; keep the minutes, and conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council. The Secretary may also enroll the name of any library as a member on payment of its dues.

Section 3. The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all members, take charge of the funds of the Society and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

ARTICLE IV

PROCEDURE

Section 1. The order of business at any annual meeting shall, except when otherwise ordered, be the following:

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual and of any special meeting.

Annual report of the Council.

Reports of officers and annual reports of committees.

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business, including the reading of the Presidential Address and other papers.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at annual and special meetings of the corporation and of the annual meetings, where not otherwise provided for in the By-Laws, shall be governed by "Roberts Rules of Order."

ARTICLE V

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. These By-Laws may be amended at any duly constituted meeting of the corporation by a two-thirds vote of the members present.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 1914

THE eighth annual and ninth public meeting of the American Society of Church History was held in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary on Monday, December 28, 1914.

President Good called the meeting to order at 10.15 A.M. After prayer by Jesse Johnson, he read the Presidential Address on *The Reformation and the New World*. The paper was discussed by Messrs. Faulkner, Horr, Schaff, and the Secretary.

Arthur Charles Howland then read a paper on *Criminal Procedure in Church Courts in the Fifteenth Century as Illustrated by the Trial of Gilles de Rais*. The paper was discussed by Messrs. Preserved Smith, Faulkner, Schaff, and Williston Walker.

The Secretary then read his report, which is appended to these minutes.

The report of the Secretary was accepted.

The Treasurer presented the subjoined report, which was referred to the Council for audit.

It was voted to refer the matter of the incorporation of the Society to the Council with power. The question of preparing a group of papers on Reformation topics for the next meeting was likewise referred to the Council, as was the appointment of an Editorial Committee.

It was unanimously voted that women should be considered eligible for membership. The morning session adjourned at 12.45 P.M.

The following members were present: Messrs. Ayer,

Faulkner, Good, Horr, Howland, E. P. Johnson, Jesse Johnson, Lyttle, Preserved Smith, Schaff, Williston Walker, Washburn, Weber, and the Secretary. Total fourteen. Also Mr. John T. McNeill and another guest.

Fourteen members and friends of the Society lunched at the Faculty Club of Columbia University at one o'clock. The Council met at 2.45 at the Union Theological Seminary.

AFTERNOON SESSION

At 3.15 President Good called the afternoon session to order. The first paper was by Jesse Johnson on the *History of Early Theological Education West of the Alleghanies*. It was discussed by Messrs. Williston Walker, Good, E. P. Johnson, Faulkner, and the Secretary.

The Secretary read a letter from John A. Wilson regretting his inability to read a paper on John Hus. The Society instructed the Secretary to write to Dr. Wilson, expressing its regret and good wishes.

David Schley Schaff read a *Note on a Spurious Tract of John Huss at the Council of Constance.*[1] The communication was discussed by Messrs. Preserved Smith, Good, and Rockwell, of the Society, and Mr. Rudolph Kastanek, a guest.

The Society voted to hear at once the paper by Albert Henry Newman, on *Adam Pastor, an Antitrinitarian Antipedobaptist*. In the absence of the author it was read by Henry Bradford Washburn and discussed by Messrs. Horr, Faulkner, Preserved Smith, and E. W. Miller.

The Secretary formally laid before the President the first copy of Volume IV of the Second Series of the *Papers*, just received from the publishers. The Society gave the Secretary a vote of thanks for his exertions on its behalf.

It was voted to proceed to the election of officers, and the following were chosen for 1915:

[1] Printed in the *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1915, pp. 276–282. See also Schaff, *Life of John Huss*, pp. 341–343.

President: John Alfred Faulkner.
Vice-President: Edward Payson Johnson.
Secretary: William Walker Rockwell.
Treasurer: Henry James Weber.
Elected Members of the Council:
David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn.

To the Council also belong, in virtue of Article III of the Constitution, the *Former Presidents:*
Williston Walker, Henry Eyster Jacobs,
Francis Albert Christie, Arthur Cushman McGiffert,
Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., James Isaac Good.

After discussion it was decided that it would be inexpedient for the present to meet outside of New York City Therefore the Secretary was instructed to inform the Council of the American Historical Association that this Society declines with regret the invitation to arrange a joint meeting for 1915 at Washington.

The following members were present at the afternoon session: Messrs. Ayer, Dudley, Faulkner, Good, Horr, E. P. Johnson, Jesse Johnson, E. W. Miller, Schaff, Preserved Smith, Sullivan, Williston Walker, Washburn, Weber, and the Secretary; total fifteen. Three guests were also in attendance: Messrs. S. M. Cavert, Rudolph Kastanek, and John T. McNeill.

The afternoon session was adjourned at 5.58 P.M.

The following members of the Society dined together at the Faculty Club of Columbia University at 6.15 o'clock: Messrs. Ayer, Dudley, Faulkner, Good, E. P. Johnson, Jesse Johnson, Rockwell, Washburn, Weber, and one other; total ten.

EVENING SESSION

At 7.30 P.M., President Faulkner called a business meeting to order. It was resolved that the American Society

of Church History needs endowment in order to make it possible to carry out its declared purposes.

The Secretary announced that letters regretting their inability to be present were received from Messrs. A. B. Baird, A. C. Flick, R. H. Nichols, R. W. Miller, A. D. Severance, and J. A. Wilson.

The Secretary made the following announcements from the Council:

that Professor Matthew Kolyn of the Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan, and Dean Plato T. Durham, of the Methodist Theological Seminary, of Atlanta, Georgia, had been elected members of the Society; that the resignation of Henry Mitchell McCracken had been accepted with regret; that an Editorial Board of three men had been chosen consisting of the Secretary, of the out-going President, and of Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., to edit forthcoming volumes of the Society; and that this Editorial Board would take up the arrangement of a grouped program for the next annual meeting.

Edward Payson Johnson reported that the Auditing Committee appointed by the Council, consisting of Messrs. Johnson and Faulkner, had examined the Treasurer's report and found it correct. This action was approved by the Society.

By unanimous vote the Secretary was instructed to thank Union Theological Seminary for its hospitality.

After approval of the minutes, the Society adjourned.

Wm. Walker Rockwell
Secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1914

IN the year just closing our Society has lost two of its most faithful supporters: Edward Benton Coe and Edward Tanjore Corwin. Though Dr. Coe rarely attended, he was loyal to the Society for a long series of years.

Dr. Coe was born at Milford, Conn., June 11, 1842, and died at his home in New York City on Thursday, March 19, 1914. His father, the Reverend David Benton Coe, D.D., was stationed in New York for thirty years as Corresponding Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society. Dr. Coe was graduated with high honors from Yale in 1862 and two years later, when but twenty-one years of age, was elected by the Yale Corporation Professor of Modern Languages. After three years of special preparation at Bonn, Berlin, and Paris, he taught for twelve years at Yale.

In 1877 he was licensed to preach by the Manhattan Congregational Association, without expectation that he would ever take a parish. Two years later, however, he was ordained to the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church as pastor of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, at Fifth Avenue and Forty-eighth Street, in this city. After nearly twenty years of service, in 1898 he was relieved from the pastoral care of the congregation and as senior minister of the Collegiate Church devoted his remaining years to executive work and to membership in many boards of directors of missionary and educational institutions. He was especially prominent as a trustee of Columbia University, and was for many years Chairman of its Committee on Education.

Dr. Coe published three addresses of interest to Church Historians: one in memory of the Reverend Dr. Thomas E.

Vermilye, another on the Reverend Talbot W. Chambers, and a historical address on the Bicentenary of the Charter of the Collegiate Church.[1]

In Dr. Corwin, who passed away on Monday, the 22d of June, 1914, our Society has lost a former President and one of its most faithful attendants. Though he never held a professorship, Dr. Corwin has published many articles and books on Church History. Enumeration of them must be reserved for a footnote.[2] It will suffice now to emphasize three or four of his undertakings.

[1] See Henry Evertson Cobb, *Edward Benton Coe, D.D., S.T.D., LL.D.*, Reprinted from the *Year Book of the Collegiate Church*, 1914.

[2] Four months before his death, Dr. Corwin furnished on request the following biographical data and list of publications, based in part on the fourth edition of his *Manual of the Reformed Church in America:*

Corwin, Edward Tanjore, b. in N. Y. C., July 12, 1834; Coll. of City of New York, '53, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, '56, l. Cl. Bergen; Resident Graduate at New Brunswick Seminary, '56–57, Paramus, '57–63, Hillsborough (Millstone), '63–88; also Instructor in Hebrew and O. T. Exegesis in New Brunswick Seminary, Nov., '83–May, '84; Rector of Hertzog Hall, '88–95; Instructor in Heb. and O. T. Exegesis, Jan.–Mar., '89, Jan. and Feb., '90, Sept., 90'–May, '91; Instructor in N. T. Exegesis, Jan.–May, '92; Greenport, Columbia Co., N. Y., '95–97; General Synod's Agent in Holland, for collecting ecclesiastical documents relating to America, Aug. 21, '97–Nov. 13, '98; editing the said ecclesiastical documents (as well as others obtained by J. Romeyn Brodhead in 1841–4), for the State of New York, July, 1899; D.D. by Rutgers College, 1872, Litt.D., 1911; President of General Synod, 1891.

Publications: "Recollections of Prof. John Ludlow," in Ludlow Memorial, 1857.—"Manual and Record of Church of Paramus," 1858; 2d edition, enlarged, pp. 108, 1859.—"Manual of Refd. Prot. Dutch Ch. in N. A.," pp. 166, 1859.—"Farewell Sermon at Paramus," 1863.—Sermon on Death of President Lincoln, in "Lincolniana," 1865.—"The Millstone Centennial," pp. 113, 1866.—"Manual of the Reformed Church in America," 2d edition, with plates, pp. 400, 1869.—"The Corwin Genealogy," pp. 315, 1872.—Editor, with Rev. Dr. T. W. Chambers and James Anderson, M.D., of "The Centennial Discourses," 1876.—"Character and Development of the Reformed Church During the Colonial Period" in "Centennial Discourses," pp. 66, 1876.—Index to second edition of same, pp. 30, 1877.—Article "Education in the Reformed Church," in "Cyc. of Education," 1877.—"Manual of the Reformed Church in America," 3d ed., plates, pp. 676, 1879.—"History of Hillsborough and Franklin Townships, Somerset Co., N. J.," with many biographi-

Much of Dr. Corwin's work concerned the History of the (Dutch) Reformed Church. He prepared the volume dealing with that denomination for the American Church History Series (1894) and did most of the work in the preparation of the six volumes of the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York* (1901–1905). An additional *Index Volume* begun by Dr. Corwin will soon be ready for the press.

In his *Manual of the Reformed Church in America* (fourth edition, 1902), Dr. Corwin endeavored to incorporate chrono-

cal articles in "History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties, N. J.," 1880.—"Exposition of S.S. Lessons," in "Christian Intelligencer," 1880.—"Twentieth Anniversary Sermon," at Millstone, N. J., Dec. 30, 1883–1884.—Editor, with Rev. Drs. D. D. Demarest and P. D. Van Cleef, of "Centennial of the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., 1884," 1885.—Preface, Table of Contents, and much of the Appendix of said "Centennial," together with "The Centennial Catalogue and Index," 1885.—"The Historical and Doctrinal Relations of the Reformed German and the Reformed Dutch Churches in America": An Address at a Conference on Union, in Philadelphia, Ap. 3, 4, 1888.—"The Resurrection of Christ, an Easter Dialogue," pp. 31, 1888.—Articles in "Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge" on Refd. Ch. in America; on Church Union; on Vows, etc., 1889.—"Recollections of Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Campbell," in "Campbell Memorial," 1894.—"The History of the Reformed Church in America," in "American Church History Series," vol. viii., 1895.—"The Amsterdam Correspondence": a paper read before the American Society of Church History, Dec., 1896; in vol. viii of their "Papers," 1897; also published separately.—Article on "Krankenbesoeckers," or "Comforters of the Sick," in "Collegiate Church Year-Book," 1897, p. 486.—Article on "The Reformed (Dutch) Church," in "Progress," July, 1898; by University Association, Chicago, Ill.—Letters from Holland on "The Ecclesiastical Archives of Holland," in "Christian Intelligencer," Sept. 1897–Nov., 1898.—"De Hollandsche Kerk in Amerika," in "Troffel en Zwaard" (Trowel and Sword), Utrecht, 1898.—Abstract of Report of General Synod's Agent on his "Searches in the Ecclesiastical Archives of Holland, 1897–8," 1898.—"History of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary," in "Dr. David Murray's History of Education in N. J.," 1899.—A "General Ecclesiastical History of Columbia County, N. Y., on Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Church of Greenport, N. Y.," 1896; published by Hendrick Hudson Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1900.—Address before the Presbyterian Historical Society, Dec. 18, 1899, on "Recent Ecclesiastical Researches in Holland," in "Journal of Presbyt. Hist. Soc.," Dec., 1901.—"Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York," 6 vols., 1901–5; published by the Legislature of New York under the auspices of Hugh Hastings, State

logical outlines of the careers of all the Dutch Reformed ministers, thus rendering the work of unusual reference value.

At the time of his death he was engaged in compiling a manuscript entitled *The Ministry and Churches of All Denominations in the Middle Colonies from the Earliest Settlements to the Year 1800.* This includes the names which are printed in the third volume of the second series of our *Papers* (pp. 106–115) but carries the biographies down to a

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Historian.—"Manual of Reformed Church in America," 4th ed., with plates, pp. 1092, 1902.—"The Colonial Churches of the Classis of Paramus": an article in "Hist. of Classis of Paramus," pp. 83–91, 1902.—"Memorial Sermon on the Life of Rev. Paul D. Van Cleef," Jan. 4, 1903.—"The Natural Method of Bible Preaching": a paper on the Organism of the Bible. In "Bible Student and Teacher," pp. 189–198, Sept., 1905.—"Digest of Synodical Legislation of the Reformed Church in America," pp. 851, 1906.—"Recent Researches in Holland and the Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York": a paper before the American Society of Church History, Dec. 28, 1906; in "Papers of the American Society of Church History," second series, vol. i, pp. 53–78; also reprinted separately.—Edited, with Rev. Dr. E. B. Coe, "The Reply of Rev. John Megapolensis, Pastor of the Church of New Amsterdam, to a Letter of Father Simon Le Moyne, of Canada, June, 1658," Latin and English in parallel columns, pp. 22, 1907.—"The Mind of the Master as to the Real Meaning of God's Law": An Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, pp. 48, 1908.—"Historical Discourse on Occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Reformed Church of Ponds, at Oakland, N. J.," June 22, 1910, pp. 50.—Address at the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Reformed Church at Franklin Park, N. J., Nov. 15, 1910, in memorial volume, pp. 117–120.—Article on "The Reformed Church in America," in the "New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia," vol. ix.—Presidential Address before the American Society of Church History, Dec. 27, 1911, on "The Ecclesiastical Condition of New York at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century," in "Papers of the American Society of Church History," second series, vol. iii, pp. 81–115; also reprinted separately.

Dr. Corwin left three manuscripts in various stages of completion: "Index to the Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York" (revised and published, 1917); "History of the Collegiate Church of the City of New York" (revised and now nearly completed by his son, Rev. Charles E. Corwin); "The Ministry and Churches of All Denominations in the Middle Colonies (Including Maryland and Virginia East of Chesapeake Bay) from the Earliest Settlements until the Year 1800" (still in manuscript).

period ninety years nearer our own time. The principle of arrangement is alphabetical. Under each minister's name we find the facts about him: under the name of each church the names of its ministers, so far as these are known.

After Dr. Corwin's death his son, the Reverend Charles E. Corwin, of North Branch, New Jersey, sent this manuscript to your Secretary in the hope of its ultimate publication.

Several historical societies which were approached last spring have felt compelled for financial reasons to refuse their aid, but the negotiations with the Commissioner of Education and the State Historian at Albany have been renewed and there is some hope that this valuable manuscript may ultimately be published. It was impossible to put any of it into the fourth volume of our *Papers* on account of its great length. It would probably make a book as large as our fourth volume.

The negotiations for the publication of the *Latin Works of Zwingli* are at a complete standstill. If more of these translations are to be printed, it must be done on the basis of special gifts coming from those particularly interested in Zwingli.

The resolution adopted at the last annual meeting of this Society, recommending to the Trustees of the American Scandinavian Foundation the publication in the English language of a comprehensive Church History of the Scandinavian peoples, was duly communicated to the Secretary of that Foundation. Inquiries were made in Scandinavia as to whether there were in existence adequate works which might be translated into English, but thus far no definite action has been taken in the matter.

At the last annual meeting your Secretary was instructed to investigate the steps necessary for the incorporation of the Society. He reports that the drawing up of the papers would cost in the neighborhood of seventy dollars and felt

it unwise to present a definite legal plan until that expense was authorized.

During the past year our membership has increased to 117, that is one hundred and fourteen individuals and three libraries. The following gentlemen have been elected to membership: In March: the Rev. Drs. H. C. Gummey, E. S. Bromer, P. S. Leinbach, W. Sullivan, Charles Herron, and Mr. Heman C. Smith; in October: The Revs. Howard C. Robbins, Remsen D. Bird, James A. Muller, and J. H. M. Dudley. Professor A. W. Jenks and Professor E. B. Krehbiel have resigned. Professor J. V. Stephens declined the election which was tendered to him at the suggestion of a colleague.

We have received today the first copies of the fourth volume of the second series of our *Papers*. The book is somewhat larger than the one of two years ago. It is to be hoped that as the Society develops it may be possible to publish a volume every year as was the custom of the former Society.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1914

RECEIPTS:

Balance December 30, 1913 (unrestricted)	$163.84
Balance December 30, 1913 (restricted to reprinting Volume I.)	92.37
Dues of active members, 1913	12.00
Dues of active members, 1914	258.20
Dues of sustaining member, 1914	10.00
Dues of sustaining member, 1915	10.00
Sales of *Papers* through G. P. Putnam's Sons	70.20

Sales of *Papers* through Secretary.....	$16.20	
Subscriptions received towards reprinting Volume I.....	11.00	
Interest Bloomfield Trust Company...	7.31	
		$651.12

DISBURSEMENTS:

Postage and expressage.....	$ 17.22	
Printing and stationery.....	26.15	
Stenographer.....	6.80	
Second half cost of reprinting Volume I	176.73	
		$226.90
Balance, December 28, 1914.....	424.22	
		$651.12

It will interest the members to know that the total cost of manufacturing and mailing the reprint of Volume I., which amounted to $364.28, has been nearly all paid to date through subscriptions amounting to $280.00, and sales totaling $60.00. The balance of expense, $24.28, will probably be amortized by future sales of Volume I.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. WEBER,

Treasurer.

Audited: J. A. FAULKNER, E. P. JOHNSON.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 1915

THE American Society of Church History held its ninth annual and tenth public meeting in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York on Monday, December 27, 1915.

Morning Session

President Faulkner called the meeting to order at 10.20 A.M. Prayer was offered by the President. There followed the Presidential Address, *The Reformers and Toleration.* In view of the heavy program of business it was voted to postpone discussion.

The second paper was read by Preserved Smith on *The Evolution of Luther's Doctrine of the Eucharist.*[1]

The Society voted to take up the matter of incorporation. Francis X. Carmody, legal adviser to the Council, made a statement of the course of action to be followed. The proposed certificate of incorporation, the proposed constitution, and the proposed by-laws had been mailed more than a fortnight previously to all members of the Society. He stated that when the last day of December, designated as the day of the annual meeting, falls on a Sunday or on a legal holiday the laws of the State of New York transfer the meeting to the next succeeding day.

The Society voted to approve the proposed certificate of incorporation. In the absence of four of the incorporators mentioned on the proposed certificate of incorporation

[1] The author proposes to issue this elaborate investigation as a separate monograph.

as printed and circulated among the members of the Society, it was voted to substitute the names of four other members who were present and therefore were qualified to participate in the necessary legal formalities. Therefore in place of the names of Williston Walker, Henry Eyster Jacobs, Arthur Cushman McGiffert, and Edward Waite Miller there were chosen Robert Hastings Nichols, William Nathaniel Schwarze, George Edwin Horr, and Austin Baxter Keep.

The report of the Secretary was read and accepted and the details requiring action were referred to the Council.

On motion it was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the annual meeting for 1914.

For information the Secretary read the minutes of the meeting of the Council held in New York City on May 15, 1915, thus formally reporting to the Society its action in regard to its approval of the proposed documents necessary to incorporation, with its reference of final action to this annual meeting of the Society.

On motion there was adopted a vote of thanks to the Secretary for his services in promoting the incorporation and other interests of the Society.

On motion by David Schley Schaff, duly seconded, it was voted that the Society through its representatives proceed to incorporation. Before Frank Erb as notary, the fifteen members designated to act as incorporators signed the necessary documents, which were committed to Mr. Carmody to be laid before a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York for his approval.

These documents are here inserted:

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

STATE OF NEW YORK }
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } *ss.*

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, Desiring to form a corporation pursuant to the provisions of the Membership Corporation Law,

all being of full age, at least two thirds being citizens of the United States, and one of us a resident of the State of New York, do hereby certify and state:

FIRST: The particular objects for which the corporation is to be formed are to promote and stimulate historical study and research generally, but particularly in the department of Church History; to discover, collect, and preserve historical manuscripts; to print, publish, and cause to be distributed, papers, books, writings, reports, articles, and data bearing on or in anywise relating to Church History or containing the results of the researches or other activities of its members; to establish and maintain traveling fellowships to carry out or to maintain any of the foregoing purposes; to hold conventions or meetings of its members; to establish and maintain a library; to establish and maintain endowments for any of the foregoing purposes; to acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, and to hold real and personal estate so far as may be necessary in carrying out its lawful purposes; and to mortgage, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of any real or personal estate according to law.

SECOND: The name of the proposed corporation is The American Society of Church History, Incorporated.

THIRD: The territory in which its operations are to be principally conducted is the United States of America.

FOURTH: The town, village, or city in which its principal offices are to be located is the Borough of Manhattan, City, County, and State of New York.

FIFTH: The number of its directors is to be fifteen.

SIXTH: The names and places of residence of the persons to be its directors until its first annual meeting are:

Names	*Place of Residence*
JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER	Madison, N. J.
EDWARD PAYSON JOHNSON	New Brunswick, N. J.
WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL	3041 Broadway, New York City
HENRY JAMES WEBER	Bloomfield, N. J.
ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS	Auburn, N. Y.
FRANCIS ALBERT CHRISTIE	Meadville, Pa.
JOSEPH CULLEN AYER, JR.	Philadelphia, Pa.

James Isaac Good	Philadelphia, Pa.
David Schley Schaff	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Henry Bradford Washburn	Cambridge, Mass.
Frederick William Loetscher	Princeton, N. J.
James Coffin Stout	541 Lexington Ave., New York City
Austin Baxter Keep	1116 Amsterdam Ave., New York City
William Nathaniel Schwarze	Bethlehem, Pa.
George Edwin Horr	Newton Center, Mass.

Seventh: The time for holding its annual meeting is on the last Monday of December of each year.

In Witness Whereof, we have made and acknowledged this certificate of incorporation this 27th day of December, 1915.

(Signed) John Alfred Faulkner
" Edward Payson Johnson
" William Walker Rockwell
" Henry James Weber
" Robert Hastings Nichols
" Francis Albert Christie
" Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.
" James Isaac Good
" David Schley Schaff
" Henry Bradford Washburn
" Frederick William Loetscher
" James Coffin Stout
" Austin B. Keep
" William N. Schwarze
" George Edwin Horr

State of New York }
County of New York } *ss.*

On this 27th day of December, 1915, before me personally came John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, William Walker Rockwell, Henry James Weber, Robert Hastings Nichols, Austin B. Keep, Francis Albert Christie, William N. Schwarze, Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., James Isaac Good, David Schley Schaff,

Henry Bradford Washburn, Frederick William Loetscher, James Coffin Stout, and George Edwin Horr, to me personally known to be the individuals described in and who executed the foregoing Certificate, and they severally duly acknowledged to me that they executed the same.

(Signed) FRANK C. ERB,
No. 103, *Notary Public.*
New York County.

(Notarial Seal)

STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } *ss.*

John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, William Walker Rockwell, Henry James Weber, Robert Hastings Nichols, Austin B. Keep, Francis Albert Christie, William N. Schwarze, Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., James Isaac Good, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn, Frederick William Loetscher, James Coffin Stout, and George Edwin Horr, being duly sworn, depose and say: that no previous application has been made for the approval of the said certificate; that they are all of full age; that they are all citizens of the United States; that the said William Walker Rockwell, Robert Hastings Nichols, James Coffin Stout, and Austin B. Keep are residents of the State of New York.

JOSEPH CULLEN AYER, JR.

Sworn to before me this 27th day of December, 1915.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER
EDWARD PAYSON JOHNSON
WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL

(Signed) FRANK C. ERB,
No. 103, *Notary Public.*
New York County.

HENRY JAMES WEBER
ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS
JAMES I. GOOD
FRANCIS ALBERT CHRISTIE

(Notarial Seal)

AUSTIN BAXTER KEEP
GEORGE EDWIN HORR
DAVID SCHLEY SCHAFF
HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN
FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER
JAS. COFFIN STOUT
WILLIAM N. SCHWARZE

(End of the documents inserted in the minutes of the morning session of December 27th, 1915.)

The President appointed A. R. Wentz and E. P. Johnson to act as auditors of the Treasurer's report when it should be presented.

The President appointed a meeting of the Council to be held in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary at 2.15 P.M.

The Society then adjourned till 3.15 P.M.

At the morning session there were twenty-two members present: J. C. Ayer, Jr., F. A. Christie, J. A. Faulkner, G. E. Horr, J. P. Gillespie, J. I. Good, E. P. Johnson, A. B. Keep, P. Leinbach, F. W. Loetscher, J. A. Muller, R. H. Nichols, E. M. North, A. Palmieri, W. W. Rockwell, David S. Schaff, W. N. Schwarze, Preserved Smith, J. C. Stout, H. B. Washburn, Henry J. Weber, and A. R. Wentz; also several guests including: Rev. Karl Kretzmann (later elected to membership); Rollin Malany of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge; Howard Kanter and Cornelius B. Muste of New Brunswick Seminary; Jacob R. Nicholas of Gettysburg Seminary; Mr. Deming of Meadville Seminary; Rudolph Kastanek and George L. Kieffer of Union Seminary. Regrets for inability to attend were received from Messrs. Dosker, Howland, and Leach.

The members of the American Society of Church History and their friends to the number of twenty-three lunched together at the Faculty Club of Columbia University.

Afternoon Session

President Faulkner called the Society to order in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary at 3.18 P.M. The report of the Treasurer, Henry James Weber, was read and referred, with the approval of the Council, to the Auditing Committee, Messrs. Wentz and E. P. Johnson.

The Secretary reported from the Council the election of the following members: Prof. Oswald E. Brown, Prof. A. W. Fortune, Prof. William Gifford, Dr. Henry Goddard

Leach, Rev. Karl Kretzmann, President Ezra Squier Tipple, and (provisionally) Dr. A. O. Fonkalsrud; also the acceptance with regret of the resignations of Professors C. G. Paterson and C. H. Walker, and of Mr. Champlin Burrage.

The Secretary announced the total net membership as about 144.

Concerning the proposed Church History of the Scandinavian peoples the Secretary stated that Dr. Leach of the American-Scandinavian Foundation had been in correspondence with Archbishop Söderblom of Upsala and with Dr. Jörgensen of Copenhagen. The latter reported a feeling in Denmark that it would be necessary to prepare certain monographs prior to the publication of a comprehensive work. J. Gottfried Hammarsköld said that he had had correspondence with Docenten Knut B. Westman of the University of Upsala, who had shown great interest in the proposal. It was voted that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the American-Scandinavian Foundation with the aim of securing the publication either of a comprehensive Church History of the Scandinavian peoples or the publication of monographs prerequisite to a larger work.

It was voted to read by title with a view to its publication should considerations of space permit a manuscript of William Orpheus Shewmaker entitled *The Training of the Protestant Ministry in the United States of America, Prior to the Founding of Theological Seminaries.*

There followed a paper by Chalfant Robinson, *The Economic Philosophies of Lutheranism and of Calvinism.*

There followed a paper by Aurelio Palmieri of Rome, Italy, and of Cambridge, Massachusetts, *The Literary History of Anglican Orders in Russian Theology.*[1]

At this point Mr. Carmody returned with the certificate

[1] See *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1916.

of incorporation bearing the approval of Justice Platzek of the Supreme Court.

There was convened a meeting of the incorporators to adopt the proposed constitution and the proposed by-laws, subject to having to do it over again provided the Secretary of State should find any flaw in the papers.[1]

MINUTES OF FIRST MEETING OF INCORPORATORS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, INC.

The first meeting of the American Society of Church History, Inc., was held on the 27th day of December, 1915, at four forty-five o'clock in the afternoon, at the Union Theological Seminary, 120th St. and Broadway, New York City, pursuant to a written waiver of notice, signed by all the incorporators, fixing said time and place.

The following incorporators were present in person at the meeting:

Robert Hastings Nichols
John Alfred Faulkner
Edward Payson Johnson
William Walker Rockwell
Henry James Weber
Austin B. Keep
William N. Schwarze
Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.
James Isaac Good
Henry Bradford Washburn
Frederick William Loetscher
James Coffin Stout

On motion, John Alfred Faulkner was elected chairman and William Walker Rockwell was appointed secretary of the meeting.

The Secretary presented and read a waiver of notice of the meeting signed by all the incorporators and the same was ordered on file.

[1] The act of incorporation, printed above (p. v.), expressly ratified and declared valid the essential acts of this meeting, of the 27th of December, 1915.

The Chairman reported that the certificate of incorporation of the corporation had been filed in the office of the County Clerk of New York County and presented a copy of said certificate of incorporation at the meeting.

The Secretary presented a set of by-laws and a constitution for the regulation of the affairs of the corporation, which were read article by article and unanimously adopted.

Said by-laws and constitution are attached hereto and made part hereof.[1]

WM. WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary pro tem.

The meeting of the incorporators adjourned at 5.07. Dr. Faulkner called a meeting of the Board of Directors, or Council, to order at 5.08 P.M.

MINUTES OF THE FIRST MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OR COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, INC.

The first meeting of the Board of Directors or Council of the American Society of Church History, Inc., was held at the Union Theological Seminary, 120th St. and Broadway, New York City, on the 27th day of December, 1915, at eight minutes past five o'clock in the afternoon. There were present:

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS
JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER
EDWARD PAYSON JOHNSON
WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL
HENRY JAMES WEBER
AUSTIN B. KEEP
WILLIAM N. SCHWARZE
JOSEPH CULLEN AYER, JR.
JAMES ISAAC GOOD
HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN
FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER
JAMES COFFIN STOUT

constituting a quorum of the Board.

[1] They are printed above, p. vii ff.

Mr. John Alfred Faulkner was chosen temporary chairman and Mr. William Walker Rockwell secretary of the meeting.

The Secretary presented and read a waiver of notice of the meeting signed by all the Directors and the same was ordered on file.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was

Resolved, that the seal described at the meeting, an impression of which was exhibited, be and the same hereby is adopted as the seal of this corporation.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Resolved, that an office of the corporation be established and maintained in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, at a place to be selected by the Board of Directors.

The Chairman stated that the election of temporary officers, to serve for a period of one year and until the election of their successors, was in order. The following gentlemen were thereupon unanimously elected temporary officers of the corporation to serve for the period of one year and until the election and qualification of their successors.

President: Edward Payson Johnson.

Vice-President: David Schley Schaff.

Secretary: William Walker Rockwell.

Treasurer: Henry James Weber.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Resolved, that the Treasurer of the corporation be and he hereby is instructed and empowered to open and keep an account of deposit and discount with any bank or trust company in the name and for the use of this corporation; and deposit in said bank or trust company to the credit of the corporation any and all moneys, checks, drafts, notes, and acceptances which may now be or may hereafter come into the corporation's possession, and the said bank or trust company is authorized to make payments from the funds of the corporation on deposit with it, upon and according to the checks of the corporation signed by the Treasurer, or by such other officer as the Board of Directors may from time to time by resolution designate.

There being no further business before the meeting, upon motion the same was adjourned at 5.14 P.M.

WM. WALKER ROCKWELL, *Secretary.*

At 5.15 P.M. the Society met as the American Society of Church History, and adopted the following resolution transferring the property to the new corporation:

WHEREAS the American Society of Church History at its annual meeting held in New York City on Monday, the 28th of December, 1914, voted to refer the question of the incorporation of the Society to the Council with power;

AND WHEREAS at its meeting in New York City on Saturday the 15th of May, 1915, the Council adopted the proposed certificate of incorporation, constitution, and by-laws, subject to ratification by the Society at its next annual meeting;

AND WHEREAS the said annual meeting of the Society held in New York City on Monday the 27th of December, 1915, has approved and ratified the said documents submitted to it by the Council;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that on the completion of the legal formalities necessary to the formation of the new incorporation to be entitled The American Society of Church History, Inc., all the assets of the present Society shall be transferred to the new corporation.

The Society then listened to a paper by James Arthur Muller on *Stephen Gardiner and the Reformers under Henry VIII.*

The Society voted that the names of visitors to its meetings be entered upon its minutes.

At 5.50 the afternoon session adjourned.

There were present at the afternoon session the following twenty-one members of the Society: Messrs. Ayer, Christie, Faulkner, Good, Hammarsköld, Horr, E. P. Johnson, Keep, Leinbach, Loetscher, Lyttle, Muller, Nichols, Palmieri, Chalfant Robinson, Schaff, Schwarze, Stout, Washburn, Weber, and the Secretary; also ten guests: Rev. Drs. F. E. Oberlander and Charles Augustus Stoddard of New York; Mr. Deming of Meadville Seminary; Messrs. Howard Kanter and Cornelius B. Muste of New Brunswick Seminary;

Messrs. R. Kastanek, Philip Kemp, G. L. Kieffer, Otto H. Pannkoke, and W. L. Riethmiller of Union Seminary.

Members of the Society and their guests to the number of ten dined together at the Faculty Club of Columbia University. The following were present: Messrs. Ayer, Faulkner, Good, Nichols, Rockwell, Schwarze, Washburn, Weber, and Wentz; and Mr. Kastanek, a guest.

Evening Session

At 7.28 President Faulkner called the meeting to order.

A paper by Henry Elias Dosker on *Recent Researches on the Anabaptists in the Netherlands* was read by Henry Bradford Washburn.

A vote of thanks to Union Theological Seminary for its hospitality was unanimously adopted.

Through A. R. Wentz the auditors reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been examined and found correct.

It was suggested that next year a different arrangement of seating be made, in order to render it easier to hear the reading of papers.

The Chair announced the appointment of Messrs. Rockwell, Leach, and Hammarsköld as a committee to confer with the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

The minutes were read and approved, and power was given to the Secretary to complete them.

At 8.42 P.M. the Society adjourned.

Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, 1915

THE Council of the American Society of Church History met in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary on Monday, December 27, 1915. It was called to order at 3.27 P.M. by President Faulkner. Present: Messrs. Ayer, Christie, Faulkner, Good, Schaff, Washburn, Weber, and the Secretary.

The Council formally ratified the elections of members made by circular letter in 1915, as listed in the Annual Report of the Secretary. The following also were elected to membership: Oswald E. Brown, A. W. Fortune, William A. Gifford, Oswald W. Howard, Karl Kretzmann, Henry Goddard Leach, Ezra Squier Tipple. Provisional election was given to A. O. Fonkalsrud and to Walter Vivien Moses. The following resignations were accepted: Champlin Burrage, Curtis H. Walker, C. G. Paterson.

Dr. Good reported on the state and prospects of the publication of the Latin works of Zwingli.

The question as to the publication in the forthcoming volume of *Papers* of a full or abridged translation of an article by Dr. Eekhof on Dominie Selyns was referred to the Secretary with power.

Approval was given to the Secretary's having presented a copy of Volume IV. of the *Papers* to Mrs. Katherine Gansevoort Lansing. It was voted that the Secretary be empowered to send out presentation copies of volumes when in his judgment the best interests of the Society require it.

The Council acting as nominating committee made the following nominations for 1916: *President*, Edward Payson

Johnson; *Vice-President*, David Schley Schaff; *Treasurer*, Henry James Weber; *Secretary*, William Walker Rockwell.

In lieu of naming elected members of the Council it was voted to approve the remainder of the list of incorporators of the new corporation.

The Council also voted to recommend to the Society the transfer of the property and other assets of the Society to the new corporation.

The Council appointed Messrs. Wentz and E. P. Johnson as an auditing committee.

It was voted that a paper by W. O. Shewmaker entitled *Training of the Protestant Ministry of the United States of America Prior to the Founding of Theological Seminaries* be read by title and be published in the next volume if in the opinion of the Editorial Board there is room.

It was resolved that two tracts of Hieronymus Emser entitled *Apologeticon in Reply to Huldreich Zwingli's Antibolon* and his *Canonis Missæ Defensio* be published in translation in the forthcoming volume of *Papers*, provided space permits.

The meeting adjourned at 3.16 P.M.

WM. WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, 1915

THE first copy of Volume IV. of our *Papers* was received on the day of the last annual meeting of the Society, December 28, 1914. The Secretary sent review copies to a selected list of American and foreign periodicals and their comments were more extensive and more favorable than had been the case in regard to Volume III. The Secretary also caused to be printed advertising circulars descriptive of the series.

During the past year the membership of the Society has grown from 117 to about 144, a net increase of nearly twenty-five per cent. The members elected during the year to immediate membership are as follows: Rev. Leon Arpee, Bishop Richard Cooke, Rev. Charles E. Corwin, Prof. Herbert D. Foster, Rev. James P. Gillespie, Rev. J. Gottfried Hammarsköld, Prof. Wilmer C. Harris, Prof. Arthur S. Hirsch, Rev. John Mason Kelso, Rev. James S. Kittell, Prof. Matthew Kolyn, Prof. D. F. McGill, Prof. J. L. Neve, Prof. Eric M. North, Dr. Aurelio Palmieri, the Public Library of Cincinnati, Prof. W. E. Rollins, Rev. Philip L. Schenck, Prof. William N. Schwarze, Dr. W. O. Shewmaker, Prof. W. W. Sweet, Prof. A. R. Wentz, Dr. William F. Whitaker, and Prof. Henry B. Wright. The elections of the following take effect at the present meeting: Prof. George H. Dryer, Prof. Lynn H. Hough, and Prof. John T. McNeill.

The resignation of Henry Mitchell MacCracken, Chancellor Emeritus of New York University, was accepted by the Council at the last annual meeting, and that of the Rev.

Lucius Waterman of Hanover, N. H., was likewise accepted in October, 1915.

Chancellor MacCracken was present at the meeting for the organization of the Society held at the house of Philip Schaff on the 23d of March, 1888, and has maintained his membership from that time till this. Of the gentlemen present at that meeting twenty-seven years ago, only one other is now a member of the Society, Professor Emerton of Harvard. Of the charter members who joined at that time but were unable to be present at the meeting four are still with us: Prof. Good, Prof. Newman, Prof. David S. Schaff, and Prof. Sheldon.

So far as the Secretary is aware but one of our members has died during the year. This was the Reverend George Norcross.

George Norcross, who died on the 8th of March, 1915, at Carlisle, Pa., was born on the 8th of April, 1838, at Erie, Pa. He was the son of Hiram and Elizabeth (McClelland) Norcross. He received the degree of A.B. from Monmouth College in 1861, and that of A.M. from the same institution in 1864. He attended the McCormick Theological Seminary, 1861–1862; Monmouth Theological Seminary, 1862–1863; and Princeton Theological Seminary, 1864–1865. He was stated supply of the Presbyterian Church at North Henderson, Ill., 1863–1865, and pastor from 1865–1866. From 1866–1868 he was pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Galesburg, Ill. Then for forty years (1869–1909) he was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church at Carlisle, Pa. From his retirement in 1909 until his death he lived in the manse which he had been instrumental in building, among former parishioners and other friends and neighbors who rejoiced to do him honor.

Princeton conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity (1879). He was an Associate Delegate to the First Pan-Presbyterian Council at Edinburgh, in 1877; delegate to the Pan-Presbyterian Council at Washington, D. C., 1899; moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Pennsylvania, in 1899, and

four times a member of the General Assembly. He belonged to our Society from 1891 until his death. He was also a member of the American Historical Association, the Scotch-Irish Society, and other organizations. He was the editor and in part the author of the *Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle*, a work in two volumes (Harrisburg, 1889). This is virtually a history of Presbyterianism in the Cumberland Valley. Among his other publications is *The Story of the Westminster Assembly*.

Dr. Norcross is survived by his wife, who was the sister of the late Sheldon Jackson, D.D., the eminent Presbyterian home missionary, subject of an inspiring biography. One of Dr. Jackson's four surviving daughters, Mrs. François Lucas, furnished most of the data on which this brief sketch is based.

At its annual meeting on the 31st of December, 1912, the Society gave its formal approval to the plan of the late Samuel Macauley Jackson for the continuance of the publication of the *Works of Zwingli*, under the auspices of this Society and under the editorship of the present Secretary.[1] The manuscript translations of the chief Latin works of Zwingli have been in the Secretary's hands, but the funds for their publication have not been forthcoming. Through the activities of James Isaac Good, chairman of a committee of the Reformed Church in the United States, the project for the publication has been brought anew to the Heidelberg Press, which is another name for the Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States. Dr. Good has also raised some money to add to the still very inadequate publication fund of his committee. Although the arrangements have not yet been completed, the prospects for the appearance of more volumes of the translation of Zwingli are far better to-day than they were a year ago.

The manuscript of the late Dr. Corwin's *List of Ministers of all Denominations in New York and the Other Middle*

[1] See *Papers*, Second Series, Volume IV., p. ix.

Colonies to the Year 1800 is now in the safe of the State Historian at Albany. It has been examined by that official, Hon. James A. Holden, and by the State Archivist, Mr. A. J. F. van Laer. The latter reports "that the manuscript needs a thorough revision and considerable amplification before it can be sent to the press"; it is still "very inadequate for the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Moravian, and Jewish churches." On the 5th of June, 1915, your Secretary visited Albany to confer with the Hon. John H. Finley, Commissioner of Education, and with Mr. Holden and Mr. Van Laer. These officials were very courteous and showed interest in the project. It is evident that in order to secure the completion and publication of this valuable manuscript by the State Historian a special grant of money from the State will be required. It was decided to postpone further action until the late autumn. At the beginning of December the announcement was made that James Sullivan, Ph.D., of Brooklyn, had been appointed State Historian to succeed Mr. Holden on the 1st of September, 1916. It is to be hoped that this situation will not involve further delay.

In April, 1915, the *Catholic Historical Review* began publication. This is, so far as your Secretary is aware, the first quarterly ever published in America devoted exclusively to the interests of Church History. Though its title would indicate a wider interest, the articles published hitherto have dealt only with Roman Catholicism. It is under the editorship of scholars connected with the Catholic University at Washington, which should be a guarantee of its high character. The appearance of this periodical reminds your Secretary of the possibility which has been occasionally mentioned in our informal discussions of previous years that instead of the *Papers* we should publish an *American Journal of Church History*. This project would, however, demand greater financial resources than we have at present and would probably wait on special endowment.

In the next few years there will occur a number of anniversaries of importance to Church Historians. The five-hundredth anniversary of the burning of John Huss, which was celebrated in various churches in this country on or about the 6th of July last, will, it is expected, be celebrated at Prague on the 19th of July, 1916. There will probably be special attention paid in this country to the five-hundredth anniversary of the burning of Jerome of Prague on the 30th of May, 1416. The Secretary regrets that the suggestion of a brief memorial paper to be read at this meeting reached him at a time when the preparations of the program had been so far advanced that there was no room left.

Another anniversary of the year 1916 is that of the American Bible Society. Its centennial celebration will begin on or about the 8th of May. Pamphlets in preparation therefor are to be issued from time to time.

For the celebration in 1917 of the four-hundredth anniversary of the posting of Luther's theses elaborate plans are under way.[1]

The Society will be pleased to hear that Doctor Corwin's history of the oldest and one of the most powerful ecclesiastical organizations in this city, the Collegiate Church, is being prepared for publication with the assistance of his son Rev. Charles E. Corwin of New Brunswick, New Jersey. At the present time the work is completed down to 1754, with some sections which concern the later period.

At their National Council in New Haven, held in October 1915, the Congregationalists appointed a committee on the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620. It was recommended by their committee on the International Council that that larger Congregational body should postpone its meeting from 1918 to 1920, and should

[1] They are described in an article by Rev. Walter E. Schuette in the *American Lutheran Survey*, published at Charleston, S. C., on October 27, 1915, pages 19 to 25.

devote its earlier sessions to a historical review of the settlement of New England and the place Congregationalism has had in the country's history.

At a meeting of the Council of the Society, held at Union Seminary on the fifteenth of May, 1915, in addition to routine business the following decisions were reached. The proposal tentatively made through Edward Waite Miller to publish the forthcoming volume of translations from the works of Wessel Gansfort as an extra volume of the Society's publications was approved, conditional upon the submission of the manuscript or proof to the Secretary before printing. It was voted to enforce the half-hour limit for papers. The chief business of the day was, however, a discussion of the proposed constitution and by-laws and articles of incorporation for the Society, as drawn up by F. X. Carmody, Esq., of Carmody and Carswell. These were revised in minor details, adopted article by article and then as a whole. It was resolved to submit them to the Society at its annual meeting for ratification in accordance with Article VIII of the present Constitution, which prescribes the method of amendment. The Council gave the Secretary power to print or manifold these documents and circulate them among the members and to take up the matter of the proposed incorporation with the courts under whose jurisdiction it lies. It was voted that the original incorporators consist of the present Council and of Messrs. F. W. Loetscher, J. C. Stout, and E. W. Miller. The selection of a seal was referred to the Secretary with power and the necessary expenditure was authorized. The Treasurer was given authority to pay the bills of the lawyers, Messrs. Carmody and Carswell.

Respectfully submitted,

Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1915

RECEIPTS:

Balance, December 28, 1915	$424.22	
Dues of active members, 1913	3.00	
Dues " " " 1914	39.00	
Dues " " " 1915	267.20	
Dues " " " 1916	12.00	
Dues of sustaining members, 1915	60.00	
Sales of Papers through G. P. Putnam's Sons	13.26	
Sales of Papers through Secretary	30.35	
Interest, Bloomfield Trust Company	9.37	
		$858.40

DISBURSEMENTS:

Postage and Expressage	$ 9.50	
Stationery and Printing	5.75	
Stenographer	43.44	
G. P. Putnam's Sons, Printing and Publishing	500.00	
		$558.69
Balance in Bloomfield Trust Company December, 10, 1915	299.71	
		$858.40

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. WEBER,
Treasurer.

Audited: A. R. WENTZ, E. P. JOHNSON.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 1916

THE American Society of Church History held its tenth annual and eleventh public meeting in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th Street, New York City, on Tuesday, December 26, 1916. The occasion was also the first Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History, Inc.

The morning session was called to order at 10.25 by President Edward Payson Johnson. Prayer was offered by the Vice-President, David Schley Schaff.

The presidential address was on *Christian Work among the North American Indians during the Eighteenth Century.* In the discussion which followed, Messrs. Schaff, W. N. Schwarze, and Charles E. Corwin participated.

Eric McCoy North, of Ohio Wesleyan University, then presented a paper on *Graphic Methods Applied to the Study of American Church History.*[1] It was accompanied by a series of specimen charts and was discussed by E. P. Johnson, D. S. Schaff, F. W. Loetscher, Rudolph Kastanek (a guest), and by the Secretary.

The third paper of the morning, *The Work of English Church Historians since 1900, with Special Reference to the Labors of the Late Henry Melville Gwatkin*, was presented by Frederick John Foakes Jackson, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, England, and Professor in Union Theological Seminary. A brief discussion followed.

[1] See *The Christian Advocate*, New York, June 21, 1917, pp. 609, 614 f.

The President called a meeting of the Council or Board of Directors to meet in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary at 2.15 P.M.

At 1.15 the Society adjourned for luncheon.

The following members were present at the morning session: Francis A. Christie, C. E. Corwin, J. A. Faulkner, A. O. Fonkalsrud, J. I. Good, F. J. Foakes Jackson, F. W. Loetscher, President E. P. Johnson, E. M. North, W. W. Rockwell, W. E. Rollins, D. S. Schaff, W. N. Schwarze, H. J. Weber, A. R. Wentz. The names of the guests were: Champlin Burrage, Librarian of John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I., Prof. F. W. Jackson of Bloomfield Theological Seminary, Rev. Lauritz Larsen; from Union Theological Seminary, Carl F. Crusius, George Linn Kieffer, Rudolph Kastanek, T. T. Lew, and Egbert C. Macklin; from Columbia University, Paul N. Crusius; from Meadville Theological Seminary, L. H. Denny and C. H. Valentine; from Bloomfield Theological Seminary, Frank Cherubini.

The following members sent regrets for absence: Peter Ainslie, Henry Goddard Leach, Robert Hastings Nichols, George Washington Robinson, and Henry Bradford Washburn.

Twenty-seven members of the Society and guests took luncheon together at the Faculty Club of Columbia University at 1.30 P.M.

Afternoon Session

The afternoon session of the American Society of Church History was called to order by President Johnson at 3.40 P.M. in the Directors' Room of Union Seminary. It was voted to hear the two papers of the afternoon before holding the business meeting.

Abdel Ross Wentz of Gettysburg Theological Seminary

read a paper on *Four Centuries of Luther.*[1] Afterwards a few remarks were offered by D. S. Schaff.

Otto Herman Pannkoke, Secretary of the Reformation Quadricentenary Committee of New York City, then presented, under the title of *The Celebration in 1917 of the Quadricentenary of the Reformation*, an eloquent plea for stimulating publication and research in the field of Church History through an endowment for the American Society of Church History. He named the sum of one hundred thousand dollars as necessary to accomplish the immediate ends in view. There followed an animated discussion participated in by Messrs. J. A. Faulkner, E. P. Johnson, F. W. Loetscher, and the Secretary.

At 5.20 President Johnson convened the annual meeting for business. It was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. The Annual Report of the Council was read for the information of the members of the Society. The report of the Secretary was received, placed on file, and ordered to be printed. The report of the Treasurer, Henry James Weber, was received and accepted. The Chair appointed as Auditing Committee W. N. Schwarze and A. R. Wentz.

The following Committees presented their reports:

For the Editorial Board, J. A. Faulkner reported that the papers submitted for the Fifth Volume had been read by the Board, which consisted in 1916 of J. C. Ayer, Jr., J. A. Faulkner, and the Secretary.

The Committee on Conference with the American–Scandinavian Foundation, including Henry Goddard Leach, J. G. Hammarsköld, and A. O. Fonkalsrud, reported through the Secretary as Chairman a very definite series of proposals for the publication of a Church History of the Scandi-

[1] A copy of this address was mailed to every member of the Society, in February, 1917, *Martin Luther in the Changing Light of Four Centuries*, Gettysburg, Pa., Gettysburg Compiler Print, 1917, p. 35.

navian Peoples, through the co-operation of the American–Scandinavian Foundation with other foundations in Scandinavia. The report was received.[1] J. G. Hammarsköld gave the additional information that the Archbishop of Upsala was greatly interested in the project and that the younger church historians of Scandinavia were quite enthusiastic.

In regard to the Zwingli translations Dr. Good reported progress. He stated that he believed the German Reformed Church would finance the publication of the second volume of the series; that other Presbyterian and Reformed bodies that he had approached had made contingent appropriations[2]; and that he hoped it might be possible to publish a volume during 1917, the chief question being the relation of the first volume published by Dr. S. M. Jackson, in 1912, to the later volumes of the translation.

Edward Waite Miller reported progress on the publication in English of the works of Wessel Gansfort. There will be two volumes of which one will contain the *Life of Gansfort* by Dr. Miller; the other a translation, by Professor Jared W. Scudder, of the *Farrago, the Treatise on the Eucharist, and the Letters*. It is to be expected that the work will be issued from the press in two or three months. It was voted that Dr. Miller's report be received.

From the Council as Nominating Committee the Secretary reported the following list of nominations for the ensuing year:

President: David Schley Schaff.

Vice-President: Henry Bradford Washburn.

[1] It is printed in full below (p. lxiii f.).

[2] These are the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern), the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Northern), the United Presbyterians, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the Reformed Church in the United States (German Reformed). The Reformed Church in the United States of America (Dutch Reformed) took favorable action in the spring of 1917.

Secretary: William Walker Rockwell.
Treasurer: Henry James Weber.

Elected Members of the Council:

Robert Hastings Nichols, Frederick William Loetscher,
James Coffin Stout, Austin Baxter Keep,
William N. Schwarze, George Edwin Horr.

According to the Constitution the following *Former Presidents* are also members of the Council:

Francis Albert Christie, Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.,
James Isaac Good, John Alfred Faulkner,
Edward Payson Johnson.

It was voted that the polls should be open for one hour.

On motion duly seconded it was voted that the project to raise the sum of $100,000 endowment for the work of the Society be approved.

At 6.05 President Johnson called the Vice-President, D. S. Schaff, to the Chair.

The Secretary gave a brief and informal account of the project for the formation of a Western Section of the American Society of Church History; but action was deferred until the evening session.

The Vice-President called a meeting of the Council or the Board of Directors to convene at the Faculty Club of Columbia University after dinner.

The Society adjourned to meet at 7.15.

There were present at the afternoon session the following members: F. A. Christie, C. E. Corwin, J. A. Faulkner, A. O. Fonkalsrud, J. I. Good, J. G. Hammarsköld, E. P. Johnson, A. B. Keep, F. W. Loetscher, E. W. Miller, A. C. McGiffert, E. M. North, W. E. Rollins, D. S. Schaff, W. N. Schwarze, A. J. Sadler, H. J. Weber; also the following guests: Paul N. Crusius, Frederick Wolcott Jackson, G. L. Kieffer, L. Larsen, T. T. Lew, R. W. Sockman, F. E. Oberlander, O. H. Pannkoke, Dr. Schoenfeld, and others.

Evening Session

The members of the Society and their friends, fifteen in all, dined at the Faculty Club of Columbia University at 6.30 P.M.

At 7.50 President Johnson called the third session to order at the Faculty Club. There were present:

Messrs. Christie, Corwin, Faulkner, Good, E. P. Johnson, Logan, E. W. Miller, Rollins, Schaff, Schwarze, Weber, and the Secretary; also two guests, Messrs. Margrander and Pannkoke.

At the expiration of an hour President Johnson declared that the officers nominated at the afternoon session were regularly elected.

On motion duly seconded the Society took a recess during which there was held a meeting of the Council or Board of Directors. Those members of the Society not members of the Council were invited to remain as guests.

At 8.50 the meeting of the Council adjourned and the gentlemen present reconvened as the American Society of Church History, Inc.

On motion duly seconded the actions just taken by the Council were made the actions of the Society.

The minutes of all sessions of the day were read and approved.

The Auditing Committee, consisting of W. N. Schwarze and A. R. Wentz, reported that they had inspected the Treasurer's accounts and found them correct.

John Hubbard Logan of Rutgers College then gave an abstract of his paper, *Religious Controversies in New Jersey in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.*

There was passed the customary vote of thanks to Union Theological Seminary for its hospitality.

On motion duly seconded the Secretary was empowered to complete the minutes.

At 9.10 P.M. the Society adjourned.

William Walker Rockwell, *Secretary.*

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, 1916

THE First Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors or Council of the American Society of Church History, Inc., was called to order by President E. P. Johnson in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary, Broadway, at 120th Street at 2.55 P.M., on Tuesday, December 26, 1916. Present: President Johnson, F. A. Christie, J. A. Faulkner, J. I. Good, A. B. Keep, F. W. Loetscher, D. S. Schaff, W. N. Schwarze, H. J. Weber, and the Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Annual Report of the Council to the Society was approved, and directed to be read at the general meeting of the Society later in the afternoon.

The Council formally confirmed the decisions reached by correspondence during the past year.

The Secretary reported that the following persons had made application for membership, with proposer and seconder, and that a majority of the members of the Council had approved the application in writing, and that the Secretary had notified the candidates that they were entitled to all the rights and privileges of the members of the Corporation; whereupon it was regularly moved and seconded that they be formally admitted members of the Corporation: Peter Ainslie, Philip Mosher, J. M. Shaw, F. G. Gotwald, George W. Robinson, F. J. Foakes Jackson, Shirley Jackson Case, Ernest C. Richardson.

Analogous action was taken in confirmation of the acceptance of the resignations of T. F. Collier, H. E. Dosker, Howard C. Robbins, and M. Bowyer Stewart.

On motion duly seconded it was voted to establish the office of the Corporation at Room 420, 3041 Broadway, New York City.

Under the head of unfinished business the Secretary reported that no progress had been made in securing a seal. On motion duly seconded the Secretary was instructed to select an artist and to secure the making of a seal of the Society at an expense not to exceed $125.

It was voted to refer to the Editorial Committee with power the question of the inclusion of the minutes of to-day's proceedings in the forthcoming Fifth Volume of the *Papers*.

The following officers were nominated for the ensuing year, subject to election by the Society at its general meeting:

President: David Schley Schaff.

Vice-President: Henry Bradford Washburn.

Secretary: William Walker Rockwell.

Treasurer: Henry James Weber.

Elected Members of the Council:

Robert Hastings Nichols, Frederick William Loetscher,
James Coffin Stout, Austin Baxter Keep,
William N. Schwarze, George Edwin Horr.

According to the Constitution the following *Former Presidents* are also members of the Council:

Francis Albert Christie, Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.,
James Isaac Good, John Alfred Faulkner,
Edward Payson Johnson.

It was voted to appoint as *Editorial Committee* for 1917 the outgoing President E. P. Johnson, J. A. Faulkner, J. C. Ayer, Jr., and the Secretary. To this Committee was also entrusted the preparation of the program for the next Annual Meeting.

Voted to lay on the table the request of the Secretary to excuse him in future years from membership in the Editorial Committee.

The election of new candidates for membership was postponed to the evening session.

Voted to accept the resignations of Samuel Simpson and H. H. Guy if these gentlemen persist in their desire to leave the Society.

The Council adopted a vote of thanks to the Secretary and to the Treasurer.

After a brief discussion the Council voted to refer to the Society in general the question of the formation of a Western or Chicago Section of the Society.

After a brief discussion of plans for an endowment the Council adjourned at 3.40 P.M., to meet at the call of the President.

Evening Session of the Council

During the evening session of the Society, which was held at the Faculty Club of Columbia University, the Society on motion duly seconded took a recess, and the President immediately called a session of the Council. There were present the following members of the Council: E. P. Johnson, J. A. Faulkner, J. I. Good, D. S. Schaff, W. N. Schwarze, H. J. Weber, and the Secretary. On nomination by President Johnson, duly seconded, there was elected to membership Rev. Howard A. Bulson, B.D., of the First Baptist Church of New Brunswick, N. J.

On nomination by H. J. Weber, seconded by J. I. Good, there was elected to membership in the Society, Frederick Wolcott Jackson, Ph.D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the Bloomfield Theological Seminary.

On motion duly seconded Otto H. Pannkoke was elected to membership in the Society.

On motion duly seconded it was voted that a Committee of three be appointed by the incoming President, to appeal for an endowment of $100,000, enlisting the aid of as many

members of the Society as they see fit. The incoming President, D. S. Schaff, appointed F. W. Loetscher, Williston Walker, and H. B. Washburn, as the Committee on Endowment, and added as advisory members of the Committee W. W. Rockwell and O. H. Pannkoke.

On motion duly seconded it was voted to allow this Committee a sum not to exceed $50.00 for preliminary expenses, prior to the next annual meeting.

On motion duly seconded it was voted that the incoming President appoint a Committee of three to promote the formation of a western section of this Society. The incoming President, D. S. Schaff, appointed Messrs. Christie, Good, and Rockwell.

The minutes of the Council were read and approved.

At 8.50 P.M. the Council adjourned.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, 1916

SINCE the first meeting of the Council of the American Society of Church History, Inc., held at the Union Theological Seminary on the 27th of December, 1915, at five o'clock in the afternoon, no further meetings have been held; but the business of the Corporation has been transacted by correspondence.

As stated in a circular letter sent by the Secretary to all of the members of the Council on the first of March, 1916, the Secretary of the State of New York ruled, under a statute adopted a year before, that our application for incorporation must be approved by the Regents of the University of the State of New York. The official who spoke for the Board of Regents offered us a temporary charter for five years, to be made permanent at the expiration of that period if we were thought worthy of a permanent charter.

On advice of our lawyers, Messrs. Carmody and Carswell, we endeavored to secure a more favorable charter by Act of Legislature. Thanks to the energy of Mr. Carswell, then a State Senator from Brooklyn, there was passed an Act incorporating The American Society of Church History, Inc., which was signed by Governor Whitman on the 30th of March, 1916. The acts performed by the incorporators at their meeting for organization on the 27th of December, 1915, were thereby ratified and declared valid. The full text of the Act will be reprinted in our Fifth Volume, soon to appear. Mr. Carswell's efforts in securing the passage of the bill were recognized by the Council in a formal vote of thanks passed in April.

In accordance with the provisions of Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution, the following members have been elected to the Society during 1916:

Rev. Peter Ainslee, D.D., Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Philip Mosher, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; Rev. Professor J. M. Shaw, Halifax, Nova Scotia; Rev. F. G. Gotwald, D.D., York, Penn.; Mr. George W. Robinson, Secretary of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University; Professor F. J. Foakes Jackson, Union Theological Seminary; Professor Shirley Jackson Case, University of Chicago; Professor Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University. Dr. Richardson was present at the organization of our Society, in 1888, a distinction enjoyed by but one other of our present members, Dr. Emerton.

The following resignations were accepted with regret:

Professor T. F. Collier, Providence, R. I.; Professor H. E. Dosker, Louisville, Ky.; Rev. Howard C. Robbins, New York City; Rev. M. Bowyer Stewart, Nashotah, Wisc.

To the gratification of the Council two of its members who have retired from the active work of teaching Church History rescinded their resignations, so that the Council reports that Professors A. T. Swing of Oberlin and John A. Wilson of Pittsburgh are still on the roll of members.

There remains the sad duty of reporting the death of Reverend William Force Whitaker, D.D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabeth, N. J., who died at his home on Sunday, July 9, 1916.

Dr. Whitaker was born at Southold, L. I., May 6, 1853. He was graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1873 and at the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York three years later. He was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry on the first of November, 1876, and after a brief term as stated supply at Bridgehampton, L. I., was pastor of the Saint Cloud Presbyterian Church at Orange, N. J., from 1877–1894; of the First Presbyterian Church, Albany, N. Y., 1894–1907; and

of the First Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, N. J., 1907–1916. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Union College in 1899. Dr. Whitaker was a man of unusual ability and public spirit; and he was honored by all who knew him.

The Council of the American Society of Church History desires to place on record its sense of loss.

The correspondence of the Council during 1916 contains many references to the arrangements for the publication of the Fifth Volume of the *Papers*. In response to the circular letter of the first of March it was voted to refer, with power, the inclusion or exclusion of papers to the Editorial Board of three appointed on the 5th of May, 1915, consisting of the Secretary, the President of the last year, namely, John Alfred Faulkner, and Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr. In answer to the circular letter of June 17th it was voted to refer to the same committee the final arrangement of the program for the annual meeting in 1916.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Council,

Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, 1916

IN previous years it has been the custom for the Secretary to present at each annual meeting a detailed statement of the various activities of the Society. One of the changes brought about by our incorporation is the new and excellent practice of presenting a Report from the Council which covers much of the material formerly contained in the report of the Secretary. There remains, however, a number of more or less interesting facts concerning the present activities or future plans which may fittingly be presented by the Secretary.

The chief burden which rests upon the incumbent of this office is the responsibility for the publication of the biennial volume of *Papers*. This year for the first time his labors have been lightened by the appointment of an Editorial Board and he desires to thank his colleagues, Dr. Faulkner and Dr. Ayer, for their assistance in determining the selection of papers to be printed. To his great regret he must assume the sole responsibility for the fact that the Fifth Volume, which according to custom should have been out to-day, will not appear until March at the earliest. This is due to your Secretary's absorption last autumn in writing pamphlets in aid of the work of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. He begs that the members of the Society will forgive the inconvenience caused them in not receiving the volume at the customary time.

A meeting of the Committee of the American Society of Church History on Conference with the American–Scandinavian Foundation was held at the office of the American–Scandinavian Foundation, 25 West 45th Street, New York

City, on the morning of January 21, 1916. It was attended by Dr. Leach, the Secretary of the Foundation, by Dr. Hammarsköld, and by your Secretary as Chairman. Its report advances very materially the formulation of plans for the publication of a Church History of the Scandinavian peoples. Further developments await the visit of Dr. Leach to Scandinavia, which is postponed until the close of the present war.

The Secretary has also been in frequent conference with Dr. Edward Waite Miller and has read the manuscript of his *Life of Wessel Gansfort* which is now in press. Through the generosity of Mrs. Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, a representative of the family of the celebrated forerunner of Luther, copies of the biography and of the translation of the *Farrago and Letters* will be presented to all the members of our Society. It is hoped that the two volumes will be out before the summer of 1917.

In regard to the project for the publication of the manuscript left by the late Edward Tanjore Corwin entitled *The Ministers and Churches of all Denominations in the Middle Colonies from the First Settlements to the Year 1800*, the Secretary has conferred with the new State Historian of the State of New York, James Sullivan, Ph.D. Like his predecessor Mr. Holden, Dr. Sullivan has shown interest in the subject; but it has been impossible for your Secretary to visit Albany in the interests of the undertaking. It is premature to make any announcement concerning the matter except perhaps to say that it seems likely that the work could not be undertaken by the office of the State Historian unless the Legislature of the State of New York would make special appropriation for the extra clerical help needed.

The members of the Society will remember that our late Secretary, Samuel Macauley Jackson, published shortly before his death the first volume of a translation of the *Works of Zwingli* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912).

In a circular Dr. Jackson issued on the 29th of March, 1912, he stated that he had made arrangements that in case his own editorial labors should be interfered with by invalidism or death, the work would be brought to completion "under the auspices of the American Society of Church History and under the immediate direction of the Secretary of this Society, the Rev. Wm. Walker Rockwell." After long correspondence with the executors of Dr. Jackson's estate, it is evident that the continuation of the series must be financed from sources other than from Dr. Jackson's estate. The matter has been taken up actively by George Warren Richards and James Isaac Good. In company with these gentlemen on the 7th of April, 1916, your Secretary called on Frederick W. Jackson, Esq., surviving executor of the late Samuel Macauley Jackson, and talked over the matter of the proposed publication, without immediate result.

In the meanwhile Dr. Good has approached the General Assemblies or other national bodies of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Northern), of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (Southern), of the United Presbyterians, of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and of the Reformed Church in the U. S., and has obtained appropriations from some of these bodies to aid in the publication of a second volume of the series in 1917. For his work in the interest of the Zwingli translation the efforts of Dr. Good deserve the highest praise. It is a regret to your Secretary that his own manifold engagements have prevented him from giving Dr. Good the assistance which he would so gladly render were he less burdened in other directions.

Members of the Society will be interested to know that the project of founding an *American Journal of European History* will be actively taken up at the meeting of the American Historical Association by a group of scholars interested. Among the leaders of the movement are Pro-

fessor George B. Adams of Yale and Professor James Westfall Thompson of the University of Chicago.

The Secretary desires to call attention to the fact that for the first time in some years the membership of the Society is practically stationary. The sixty members of 1910 had by last December increased to one hundred and forty-four. But this year the elections scarcely more than balance the deaths and resignations. This is due to the fact that the Secretary has been preoccupied with war relief work and has been unable to secure many new members through correspondence. It is important that all the teachers of Church History in the United States and all other persons specially interested in the subject should be associated together to increase the efficiency of the study and teaching of Church History in this country. The Act of Incorporation sketches out a very definite series of activities, and I confidently believe we stand before an era of great progress. Members are therefore urged to send to the Secretary nominations of candidates.

For some years past there have been occasional expressions of regret that members of the Society living west of the Alleghanies could rarely attend its annual meeting. During a brief visit to Chicago in September your Secretary met two leading scholars in that city who were talking of forming a Church History club. This suggested the plan of making a Western, or Chicago, or Mississippi Valley Section of the American Society of Church History, to meet usually in Chicago. Informal correspondence on that subject is now taking place and it is hoped a plan may be matured which will successfully attain an object desired by all parties.

In closing his report the Secretary would call attention to the fact that no provision has yet been made to carry out the purpose which was fundamental in our seeking and obtaining incorporation, namely, securing an endowment of

a size adequate to the work which lies before the Society. This might take the form of a publishing fund which would make it possible for us to increase very materially the output in the field in which we are all so much interested. One of the possibilities which should be considered is the foundation of an *American Journal of Church History*, the great desideratum which can not be realized without proper endowment. Another project which requires money much in excess of our present income from dues is the publication of our *Papers* annually instead of biennially. There are many other needs which occur to those interested in the Society which cannot be met without endowment.

Therefore, I recommend this most vital and fundamental topic to your attention.

Respectfully submitted,

Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONFERENCE WITH THE AMERICAN-SCANDINAVIAN FOUNDATION, 1916.

A MEETING of the Committee of the American Society of Church History on conference with the American–Scandinavian Foundation in relation to the proposition of the publication of a church history of the Scandinavian peoples was held at the office of the American–Scandinavian Foundation, 25 West 45th St., on Friday morning, January 21, 1916.

Present: Drs. Leach and Hammarsköld and the Chairman.

The discussions of the Committee may be formulated as follows:

1. There is needed a Church History of the Scandinavian peoples in the English language.

2. Correspondence with certain Scandinavian scholars reveals the fact that there are at present no works in any of the Scandinavian languages, that could be translated to fill the need. It would be advisable to have books specially written for the purpose by Scandinavian scholars. probably in Europe itself.

3. Miss Jörgensen of Copenhagen reports that certain Danish scholars feel it would be premature to summarize at present the Church History of Scandinavia in a single volume, as there are a number of points still to be covered by research. Consequently it seems to this Committee that the first step will be to secure the publication of a fuller work, perhaps in three volumes, covering Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, and Greenland. This plan would

render accessible to scholars who can not use the Scandinavian languages a great mass of material on Scandinavian History and Civilization which is at present inaccessible to them. One volume might be written in Denmark, another in Sweden, and a third in Norway.

4. The Committee suggests that Dr. Leach approach the Karlsborg Fund in Copenhagen and some Foundation in Sweden for their co-operation in securing the publication of these works in the Scandinavian languages. These European Foundations might perhaps be willing to compensate the authors for their labors, and perhaps to pay the bill for printing in Scandinavian languages.

5. The cost of translation and of printing the English edition in this country might perhaps be undertaken by the American–Scandinavian Foundation.

6. Each of the three volumes should be illustrated and contain 400 to 500 pages.

7. The English edition of each of the three might be 1000 copies, which would cost perhaps $1800 to manufacture, and might be sold at from $2.00 to $3.00 a volume.

8. The Committee is of the opinion that such a three-volume history to be financed by Foundations here and in Scandinavia should make liberal use of footnotes so as to give the authorities for the statements in the text. The typical page would perhaps resemble a leaf from Channing's *History of the United States* (Macmillan).

9. Dr. Leach kindly offered to enter into correspondence with the proper authorities in Scandinavia, in order to formulate these proposals more definitely.

10. Dr. Fonkalsrud of Brooklyn was added to the membership of the Committee.

Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Chairman.

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1916

RECEIPTS:

Balance in Bank, December 10, 1915	$299.71	
Dues of Active Members, 1915	33.00	
Dues of Active Members, 1916	285.00	
Dues of Sustaining Members, 1916	40.00	
Sales of Papers through G. P. Putnam's Sons	18.00	
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		$697.52

DISBURSEMENTS:

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Respectfully submitted,
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The Reformers and Toleration

By

John Alfred Faulkner

THE REFORMERS AND TOLERATION

By John Alfred Faulkner, Drew Theological Seminary

(*The Presidential Address, read December 27, 1915*)

THE Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century inherited as a part of their consciousness the following ideas which had to do with their views of toleration.

1. The damnableness of heresy. The thought which was standard for every good orthodox Christian of the Middle Ages was expressed by St. Thomas Aquinas. He says:

> Heretics deserve not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication, but even to be shoved out of the world by death. For it is even more grave to corrupt the faith, which is the life of the soul, than it is to falsify money by which temporal life is supported. Whence if false coiners and other malefactors are regularly and justly put to death by secular princes, by how much more can convicted heretics not only be excommunicated but justly put to death.
>
> On the part of the Church indeed there is mercy for the conversion of the erring. And therefore it does not immediately condemn, but after one or two admonitions, as the apostle teaches (Tit. 3:10). But if he proves pertinacious, the Church, not hoping for his conversion, thinking of the salvation of others, separates the heretic from the Church by excommunication, and finally delivers him over to secular judgment to be exterminated from the world by death. For Jerome says: "Putrid flesh is to be cut off, scabby sheep to be driven from the folds, lest the whole house, mass, body, become corrupted, rotten, perish. Arius in Alexan-

dria was one spark, but whereas he was not immediately suppressed his flame devastated the whole world."[1]

The damnableness of heresy was an element of the mediæval mind and it went over as a matter of course to the Reformers. Even the populace shared in this feeling, and themselves urged on persecutions or mobbed heretics. So sane and wide viewing a mind as Marsilius of Padua did not arise above this thought, and the more earnest the religious mind and feeling of the person the more ardently he would be apt to share the common view.

2. Union of Church and state and the obligation of the state to carry out the determinations of the Church on heretics. Though there were differences of view as to the preponderance of one or the other element of this duad, or as to the source whence each got its power, there was no difference of view as to the obligation of each to go against heresy. While individual princes or even bishops were reluctant at times to proceed against quiet living errorists, probably not one of those authorities based his reluctance on a principle of toleration. Even so eclectic and sceptical a spirit as the Emperor Frederick II. had no hesitation in formally prescribing death by burning for heretics (1224).

3. This leads us to say that another inheritance by the Reformers was the severity of the punishments meted out to heretics. Banishment, imprisonment, confiscation, infamy, death, even death by fire, were the usual punishments, and they were taken as a matter of course. They went back to the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, which were to the Holy Roman Empire what the Great Charter is to us. The mediæval German codes like Sachsenspiegel and Schwabenspiegel prescribed the same fatal punishments for heresy.

4. Nor was the power and duty of the princes to control religious matters in their own territories any discovery

[1] *Summa Theol.*, 2, 2, q. 11, art. 3 (ed. Migne, iii, 107–8).

of the Reformers. Since the fourteenth century over against the absolutism of the pope there had been slowly covering the political sky like a lowering cloud the absolutism of the princes. If between those two absolutisms in the long conflict the pope came out second best, what he lost did not go to the credit of either laity or church but to the princes alone. Nor if the emperor lost to the pope did that mean that the local rulers lost. They gained, but they interpreted their gains as a tribute to the church, for whose unity and orthodoxy they felt still more responsibility. As the central powers waned, the territorial powers waxed, until under Maximilian I. these powers were assigned almost the same rights as the seven electors. In the confusions of the times the bishops also had to seek worldly protection, and their territories thus came under the oversight of princes. Little by little these latter came to exercise more and more powers in ecclesiastical affairs until we hear the duke of Cleve say, The duke of Cleve is pope in his own territories; or we hear it said of the duke George of Saxony that he is pope, emperor and Teutonic Master in his own land. This development was going on in the latter part of the Middle Ages, and that is the reason why the German princes felt themselves sponsors of Church unity in their territories, and if the Roman unity lapsed, considered themselves bound to see to it that another took its place. We sometimes denounce the Reformers for deference to the princes, but that deference was in the ecclesiastical and political relations of the times and had been for a hundred years.

5. We cannot leave the Old Testament out of the account as one of the main creators of the atmosphere in which intolerance grew both in mediæval and Reformation times. The Old Testament rather than the New was the mediæval book. The idea of revelation necessarily conditioned by times and circumstances, by culture and civilization, of a progressive revelation in different kinds and

degrees, of provisional laws locally adapted and in the nature of the case temporarily binding,—all this was outside of the point of view of those ages. Of course the more obvious limitation of the Old Testament laws as in the case of circumcision and ceremonial precepts, and the general fact of the more perfect revelation in Christ, were taken for granted; but the tremendous sway of the Old Testament over the consciousness of Christians down even to the beginning of the nineteenth century is an influential factor in Church History. Such was the inheritance of the Reformers as to toleration and related questions.

Not speaking of the Anabaptists nor Socinians, the only Reformer who broke through this five-fold net of tradition was Luther who in the years before 1525 spoke some of the most exhilarating words ever known in the history of the human spirit. It is a true instinct which makes German experts in this field place Luther in a class by himself as to the fructifying and enlarging influence of his words and personality in these years. And it is not a pleasant commentary on the catholicity of English-speaking churches and scholars, offended by an occasional coarseness and extravagance and by his rejection of the Catholic hierarchy, either to pass by Luther or to denounce or snub him.[1] To speak of one thing only, Luther was about the only man between the death of St. John and the end of the Middle Ages who saw the good in heresy and spoke a word in its relative justification.[2] It is indeed said that these early

[1] *E. g.*, the refusal of Oxford to join in the celebrations of 1883, and the doctorate conferred on the late Father Denifle in 1905 by Cambridge on the heels of his voluminous accusation. See the supplementary word by the publisher in the 2d Abteilung of the first volume of *Luther und Luthertum*, 2 Aufl., 1905, p. xx., and for the text of the Latin address by which the degree was to be given to Denifle see *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1905, 376. See also Preserved Smith, *English Opinion of Luther*, Harvard Theological Review, April, 1917.

[2] Walch ed., iii., 2294 (St. Louis, ed. iii., 1553). *Cf.* Erl. Ausg. xxiii., 261.

liberating utterances of Luther were never intended to mean a toleration of anyone but Lutherans, but they go far beyond that in their scope, though it is true that probably at no time would Luther have tolerated blasphemy, idolatry or Antichrist, and that meant after 1520 the Roman Church.[1] I cannot believe for another, says Luther, anymore than I can go to heaven or hell for another. No one is to be coerced to faith,—the very contradictory of Augustine's unfortunate late admission wrung from him by the failure of mild measures with the Donatists. "It did not use to please me that schismatics should be forcibly constrained to communion, for I had not yet found out how much evil their impunity would dare, or how much could be changed in them for the better by the earnestness of discipline."[2] Luther's principle was the same as Tertullian's, a forced faith is worthless.[3] It was the reversal of a thousand years, and it is tragic that events in Germany in 1525 brought a change in Luther.

It is hardly to be expected that a mind so legal as Melanchthon's, so reverential to the ecumenical creeds, to which, though he accepted them, Luther stood relatively free, would share Luther's early liberating principles. His life long convictions were in the *Loci præcipui theologici* (ed. 1559). After distinguishing between the offices of the minister and the magistrate, he says:

But when I say that the magistrate is the custodian of discipline, understand that both tables of the decalogue (that relating to duties to God as well as that relating to men) are to be watched over by him, that is, he is not so much the custodian of peace, as the Armentarius, not so much of the stomach as of the glory of God which pertains to external morals. For all states have decreed laws against perjurers, many even among the

[1] Preuss has developed this in his valuable study, *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist im späteren Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der konfessionellen Polemik*, Leipzig, 1906.

[2] Aug., *Retract*, 2. 5.

[3] *Ap.* 24. *Ad Scap.* 2.

nations against Epicureans or atheists, who have plainly said there is no God or no providence of God. But we follow the law of God which says, Flee idols (Lev. 19.4). The same Lev. 24.[16]: Whoever blasphemes the name of God, let him die the death. Deut. 12.[3]. Overturn the altars of the idols. Deut. 18.[10]: Nor are magicians nor wizards to be on the earth.

Melanchthon goes on to say that whoever takes the name of God in vain is to be punished. Not only so, Epicurean speeches, honors to idols, perjury, covenant with demons, and the profession of impious dogmas came under this head. All pious kings have followed this rule. Nebuchadnezzar and Darius would have no contumely on the truth of God, and Constantine and Theodosius did rightly when they destroyed the idols. Magistrates cannot judge mental opinions purely, but they are bound to prohibit open offenses for the glory of God, lest many be corrupted by license and by examples. Whence princes and magistrates even now should oversee Churches and care that they be rightly taught, so that the minds of men should bow to the true invocation of God and other pious offices. They should prohibit idols and teach and confirm, fighting false opinions with the Gospel. Princes may drive away from the Church the pagan (*ethnicam*) doctrine of the pope, the pagan rites of invocation of the dead and horrible profanations of the Lord's Supper. God takes magistrates into partnership with his name so that they may guard divine things, that is, the true knowledge and invocation of God, justice and peace. Though the Church is the judge of dogmas and should follow the norm of the Gospel, yet pious princes are members of the Church and with other pious men can judge according to that norm. Anyone who sows false and impious opinions, the magistrates may judge him to be anathema, or restrain him.[1] I have quoted from the final edition of the

[1] *Loci* (1559), Berlin, 1856, pp. 171–2 (ch. xx.).

Loci, but this is a matter on which Melanchthon never changed.

Though Melanchthon was engaged in various proposals for union with the Roman Catholics, that did not affect his view of the damnableness of Catholic doctrine as coming under Old Testament penalties. "They pollute themselves," he says, "with idolatry and blasphemous opinions, they make themselves guilty of the blood of the pious, whom the pope persecutes, they injure the glory of God and hinder the salvation of the Church, because they confirm errors and wickedness to all posterity."[1] For this reason and others he took for granted the rightfulness of the exclusion of Catholics from toleration, though of course he distinguished between some Catholic doctrines and the papal Church as such. He wanted the people to be compelled to go to Church,[2] the Roman mass to be done away, the Protestant services set in by authority, and the prince to look after pure doctrine as well as pure worship. It is hardly necessary to quote further from Melanchthon for a principle which is writ large in his books and letters. Hänel is perfectly right when he says that Melanchthon demanded that the worldly authorities should come out against every false doctrine, suppress every confession to such in word or deed, and that subjects should be compelled to worship under the true confession of faith.[3] Of course there lay here a danger that princely power in religious things would take the place of the papal, and that a kind of Protestant Byzantinism would supervene, and no one would deny that that danger was entirely escaped. But with the *Loci* of Melanchthon spread in ever widening circles by new editions, with the theological writings of him and Luther,

[1] *Corpus Reformatorum*, iii., 282. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 540; xvi., 573.

[3] *Melanchthon der Jurist, in Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte*, 1869, quoted by Paulus, *Protestantismus und Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg i. B. 1911, 63 note.

and with the Augsburg Confession recognized everywhere as having symbolic authority after 1530, it does not appear that there was much danger for the arbitrariness of princes at least on the theological side.

Nor did the Protestant "sects," so called, stand any better with our Reformer. It was easy to distinguish between the revolutionary Anabaptists of the Münster theocracy and the "quiet in the land" who leaned too hard on the Sermon on the Mount, a distinction in fact which Melanchthon himself made. But even these last were swept in by the ominous threats of the Old Testament and later laws. Infant baptism had been woven so closely into the customs and canons of Christendom for twelve hundred years, it had become the foundation of Christian standing or profession, of the very existence of Christendom as such, that it was almost impossible for most men of the sixteenth century either to think of a time when it was not or of a Christian state and Church which could subsist without it. That is one reason why Melanchthon had no patience with any form of Anabaptism, but brought in Anabaptism as such on a level with blasphemy or infidelity. In 1536 his condemnation of them has become so pronounced that he composed a book for the ministers in refutation of Anabaptists which was to be read from the pulpit every third Sunday. It is a most uncompromising denunciation of this "horrible devilish sect." He knows the difference between Münster, "which is simply uproar, robbery and murder, besides immorality and adultery," and the quiet Anabaptists; but we must not be mislead by these differences as the Münster people began as a holy people, who should not bear the sword, but suffer in patience, have no secular authority, at first, but only prophets and preachers. But they went on from bad to worse. The idea is you cannot trust any Anabaptists. When once they reject the regular Lutheran preaching, they have taken the first fatal step.

Faith cometh from hearing [he says], that is from preaching or from the external word. God holds this order, they must not disrupt it; for that would be despisal of the external word and Scripture and blasphemy against God, to the punishment of which the worldly authority is under obligation in obedience to the command which annexes punishment to blasphemy. Therefore the authority must watch and not allow this blasphemy, public despisal of the Scripture and of the external word, but earnestly prevent and punish it, and Christians must hold such despisal of the Scripture as devilish, and on a level with the serpent's speech in paradise to Eve.[1]

It would appear therefore that any departure from the regular doctrine is punishable. Under such a fateful extension of the idea of blasphemy, what a poor chance had any kind of Anabaptist!

In 1557 an opinion was signed at Worms by Melanchthon, Brenz, Marbach, Pistorius, Andreæ, Diller, Karg, and Rungius, and so may be taken as a kind of Lutheran ecumenical judgment on toleration, according to which those ideas (or alleged ideas) of the Anabaptists which have nothing to do with worldly matters, such as their ideas on original sin, infant baptism, the Trinity, the sacraments, the independence of spiritual blessings from Church officers, are not to be tolerated, because they are simply blasphemy. The leaders therefore are to be condemned as disturbers and blasphemers and killed with the sword. The others are to be imprisoned. Some of them will probably come to themselves after two or three years and submit to instruction. So to the objection that one should not kill on account of faith it is replied that, first, the Anabaptists teach articles that disturb the peace and must be punished on that account.

[1] Only the first and milder sketch of this *Verlegung etlicher unchristlichen Artikel welche die Wiederteuffer furgeben*, appears in *Corpus Ref.*, iii., 28–34. Extracts from *Verlegung* given in Wappler, *Inquisition und Ketzerprozess in Zwickau*, Leipzig, 1908, 67–9.

Second, as to faith, their religious teachings come under the head of blasphemy, which according to Lev. 24 must be punished by death. This law binds not only Israel but is a natural law which is binding on all. For worldly rulers are under obligation not only to look after the physical well being of their subjects, but the spiritual as well, that is, must preserve the honor of God which is endangered by false teaching. Therefore the judges did right in punishing Servetus, who had spread abroad the Jewish doctrine that Christ, before the incarnation, did not exist, and would not give up that doctrine.[1] I think this paper may be taken as the normal Lutheran judgment of the sixteenth century, and I therefore pass to the Reformed.

While Zwingli did not have the wonderful classical learning of Melanchthon, he certainly had an inner appreciation of the classical spirit, a humanistic large-mindedness which the other Reformers did not have, and we might therefore expect a more generous doctrine of tolerance. But here again the doctrine of worldly authority comes in the way. Zwingli said that those who are responsible for reform are the worldly authorities, especially the cities. They must protect the worthy proclaimers of the word of God from the wolf, in that they deny to the bishops the right of extradition to their courts, or rather hold them to prove their complaints out of Scripture to the congregation. The clergy have no right to rule, but rather to feed the flock and teach, every right of court and possession they formerly claimed belonging in divine intention to the secular authorities. But these must order all things by the law of God, which is the law of nature, and by which they are the protectors of the Gospel. But this Gospel cannot trust to the worldly arm for success, but only to the power of God, and

[1] This document is in the Munich Court and State Library, I am not sure whether in MS. or in print. If in MS. it has never been published, so far as I know. Paulus gives quotations from the original, *lib. cit.*, 72-3.

the true witness of its confessors. The doctrine of God does not grow from the leaders down, but up from the little and despised ones till it reaches the heads; so that one acknowledges the strength of the Word only, and the high and mighty ones have nothing whereof to boast, but acknowledge themselves overcome so that the divine wisdom and power may shine forth. The Christian faith is first firmly founded by the blood of Christ and then gloriously increased by the sufferings and blood of its confessors. Learn to put all hope on God and keep your faith with patience even until death. Then will men see that you give up the temporal for the eternal.[1]

In this first chief Reformation work of Zwingli from which I have quoted there are spiritual principles which undermine intolerance if they were given full effect, but they are kept in by the principle of secular authority having the right to guard the truth. There are also economic principles which like Luther's show an appreciation of the depressed minority, and ought to give to that minority the right to do their own religious thinking. He says that the authorities should make the cause of the poor their own, and see that the poor silly sheep are not destroyed by the goats. Especially they should do away with unjust ratings and with monopoly, which for the satisfaction of their luxury and lust forever they have sold to the Jews and usurers, so that now in the whole world there is no little child beggar who does not have to give to these wolves a kreutzer in taxation for every half an ounce of powder. Such people ought to be driven out of Christendom. Also princes must rule justly. I do not have regard to that heathen law to which they appeal, according to which if they slay anyone unjustly they cannot be punished. The devil, not God, has taught this law. Tyrants ought to be put off their thrones by the people.

[1] R. Stähelin, *Zwingli*, Basel, 1895, i., 279–301.

These were noble principles of Zwingli, but they did not lead to religious tolerance.

It was not at first Zwingli's idea that the authorities should entirely control religious things. He wanted the Church congregation or society to do this, and he distinguished between the two powers as still keeping within the Church its spiritual oversight and functions. But circumstances were too much for him, and he saw the Zürich Council of Two Hundred assume not only the secular rights formerly enjoyed by the Church but also the oversight over the moral and religious life of the people. Zwingli defended this however in a pamphlet on the ground of the understood consent of the congregation, since the latter had been or would be informed by the preachers of all the ecclesiastical doings of the Council. The success of this plan, said Zwingli, justified it as of God. If the authorities did anything against the Word, the preachers would immediately point it out to the congregation and as shepherds and watchers cry out against it.[1]

As a matter of fact [says R. Stähelin] the leading of the Church by the authorities was not only the logical conclusion of a development, which had even more distinctly been prepared for long before the Reformation, but after the continuous rejection of reformatory demands by the bishops it offered the only possibility to carry through the churchly transformation in a way legally ordered and comprehending the whole of the people. Without it in the Reformation time the life of the Evangelical Church would have been endangered, and it especially corresponded to the previous course of development in Zürich. As nowhere else the Reformation was here the result of the free working together of the secular and spiritual elements (i., 457).

As already seen there were not wanting soul freeing principles in Zwingli. In the answer of Zürich to the

[1] See R. Stähelin, *Zwingli*, i., 456–57.

deputies of Bern, Basel, Glarus and Appenzell, February 3, 1527 ("without doubt composed by him"), he says that in temporal things man is under the secular authority and obligated to obedience.

> But what concerns the soul and conscience which is directed alone upon God's Word and is subordinated to that alone, it can never be subjected to the force and judgment of man. For by God's Word are soul and conscience free or bound, so we cannot believe nor live nor be saved without God's Word. And that Word cannot be bent or directed either by our force or commandment or that of the confederates, or by any other, but on the contrary we must all direct ourselves and live according to the Word of God" (ii., 50–1).

You can almost hear the voice of the Anabaptists or of Luther in his earlier years sounding through this noble document. So also in the preface to the Zürich translation of the Old Testament 1530 written by or under the direction of Zwingli, in answer to the objection that the Bible in the vernacular will lead to various interpretations and these to disunion we get a modern note.

> Just as people in spite of their differences of languages confess in unity their faith in one God, and can be one in love, so also can various interpretations be well mutually tolerated in faith and love, and unite together in the chief articles of the faith, even though they use different words (ii., 136).

But these higher principles of Zwingli were shattered on his doctrine of the state and for Roman Catholics, on his doctrine of Antichrist and idolatry. "The authorities," he says, "have not only to look after the punishment of scoundrels, but have to protect the righteous from injustice or wrong, so that they do not fall into unbelief or evil."[1] In fact a Church could not exist without the authorities.[2]

[1] *Opp.*, ed. Schuler and Schulthess, i., 365.
[2] *Expositio fidei Christi*, iv., 60.

As to Roman Catholicism he held the general doctrine that it was fundamentally a false religion and ought to be abolished. That a man has a right to believe a false religion if he thinks it true, or that it is better for a man freely to believe error than compulsorily to believe truth, that truth itself becomes a means of hypocrisy and soul-destruction as soon as it made an ally of force,—these thoughts never entered the heads of the Reformers or of their teachers in the old church. In his theses against Emser, Zwingli defended this: The Church of the pontiffs, which his word refers to, is an enemy to man, that is the devil, who silently at night sows tares; for those who hear her are not the sheep of Christ, for these will not hear the voice of strangers.[1]

We must remember also that the laymen who were responsible for public order not only did not object to the intolerant side of these principles, but themselves carried them farther. Everybody knows that the preachers of Geneva petitioned against the *burning* of Servetus, wishing a more merciful death. The Council of Zürich felt themselves only carrying out their Christian duty when they forbade petty oaths, all forms of gambling, plays, dances, certain kinds of dressing, and ornaments, commanded the regular visiting of the churches, forbade any word derogatory to the preachers, reduced the number of the inns, forbade treating and drinking healths, did away with Roman Catholic worship, and in other ways showed that the development of the Reformation toward intolerance went along with a strong tide of public opinion. While at first Zwingli was inclined to preserve to the congregation certain rights of discipline, when the Council practically took over all these, Zwingli consented and thought that the punitive exercise of Church discipline belonged to the authorities.

It would be strange if the freer attitude of Zwingli

[1] See Völker, *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Leipzig, 1912, 42, 60.

exercised no influence in this territory. Mörikofer, the author of a thorough and careful study of him, places him beside Luther, as both in their early years pleading for toleration.[1] Stähelin says that the punishment of heresy with death, everywhere customary in Catholicism and which had even been introduced into Basel under the Reformer Oekolampadius, was frowned upon by Zwingli as unchristian, "and if occasionally Anabaptists after continuous obstinacy were drowned this happened only after their connection with the political party of revolution (*Umsturtzpartei*) was proved."[2] In the *Schlussreden* of 1523 Zwingli says:

Those who will not confess (their error), God will likely deal with them. While one should not use any force with their bodies, unless they proceeded so disorderly that one could not forbear force. I have composed this article that one may learn that God does not advance his doctrine with weapons. For he said to Peter, Ensheathe, for all who fight with the sword shall perish with the sword. For it is bad that one finds fault with the enemies of the word of God that they want to act with force and not with hearing of the Scripture and yet that one should become like them. One should hold alone to the Word of God, allege that alone, for that will work. . . . But the authorities, they should silence the enemies of God, yet first see that they do not fight against the truth. . . . Some speak so shamefully of the Scripture, of God and of the truth that it would be good if one closed their mouths.[3]

Here we have two conceptions struggling with each other: against force, and yet with this in reserve that it can be used if necessary. In his letter to Blarer, May 1, 1528, he works out the matter in this way: I formerly agreed with the paradox of Luther that the kingdom of God is not an external one, but later came to the knowledge that this conception had the Scripture against it, and that the kingdom of Christ must necessarily be

[1] *Ulrich Zwingli nach den urkundlichen Quellen*, Leipzig, 1869, ii., 70.
[2] Zwingli, *Werke*, ii., 145. [3] *Ibid.*, 451; Paulus, 181.

external and have external ordinances. Jesus gave his disciples precepts for the external life of the society, and it follows from that that even the authorities are called to put forth commandments for the welfare and external shaping of the Church, as they are called much more than the apostles to look after the external order. How little foreign to the authorities is the care of religion that even the heathen show how they cannot use their office without it. If you take religion away from the authorities, you have instead of an authority a tyrant. That an individual might not be pleased with their commands need not shock one, as the Church can never be so well fixed that no one will oppose the Word of God and its servants. It must be sufficient for the authorities if the Word of God and the majority of the congregation (*Gemeinde*) are upon their side, and the latter through their legal representation, perhaps through the gilds (*Zünfte*), have given their consent. In this case even the use of force against those who withstand obstinately the majority is justified as well as expressly recommended by Christ who drove out the sellers and money changers with a whip from the temple; only this force must be united not with passionateness and injustice, but with wisdom, magnanimity, and mercy. Should not a Christian magistrate do away with images, especially when he sees the public consent indorse his Church, and do away with the mass, though there may be no obligation that the magistrates slay priests; if forsooth he is able to counsel so cruel a deed. Still less, we shall not at all delay to follow the hardest examples. For my part I see that the bishops will not grow weary of their acts until they have found a new Elijah who will let swords rain upon them. One must be mindful of them as long as love commands us that regard; but where the same love demands on account of welfare to the whole body to slay them, it is better that a blind eye be plucked out than that the whole body be given over to destruction. If religion survives when we allow ourselves to be slain, we shall offer our necks to an Annas or a Caiaphas. But if a Hezekiah, an Elijah, or a Josiah is there for its vindication, why should not this be better? If our opponents say, So we too compel to faith? we answer, No; but we protect the pious from those who as soon as they can use force, and this is the special task of a righteous

judge. A Christian has no hesitation to appropriate what the philosophers and historians have told us of the noble deed that helped along public welfare, because the love which burns in his heart as a flame draws everything into itself and makes its own whatever it has seen or sees of excellence; because it knows it owes everything to God and the neighbor, whatever a noble man has ever brought to pass, whether he is called Antinous or Abraham, Ulysses or David, Miltiades or Moses, Thrasybulus or Hezekiah. Not Elijah or Hezekiah, but the same love and the same spirit which lived in them obliges us to imitate them whenever religion, welfare, and peace demand it.[1] It is one thing to compel men to faith and another to punish and coerce those blaspheming faith and the name of God, scattering the poison of false doctrine, or to take away those turning aside from God and true piety. This was always done by saints and pious magistrates. . . . See Deut. 13: Num. 25; etc.: Aug. ad Bonifatium.[2]

Zwingli was of the deliberate opinion that those who taught false doctrine should be made harmless by the authorities, by death if necessary. In spite of liberal ideas at times, that was his opinion, and the Council of Zürich, which he dominated, carried that opinion out. In fact one might say that it was universally held by both Lutheran and Reformed that the magistrate or prince had charge of the first as well as the second table of the law, that heresy was a violation of that table, and for that violation, death as a last resort was justifiable. To speak of liberty of conscience in religious things as a principle of that section of Protestants in the age of the Reformation is unhistorical.

To Protestants today this aspect of Reformation history comes as a distressing embarrassment. We are tempted to explain it away, or excuse it on the ground of alleged danger to social order from the Anabaptists. But Roman

[1] Stähelin, ii., 147–49; *Werke*, viii., 174 ff. [2] vi., pt. 1., 274.

Catholics were not revolutionists, and quiet Anabaptists, *die Stillen im Lande* (not to speak of women) were struck as well as those from whom danger might be feared. Nor does it help us to say that the error was that of the time, for there were several men then who saw a larger view. Even Erasmus, miscalled the timid, spoke and acted bravely for toleration from both parties. Nor can it be said that voices for freedom came only from the religiously indifferent, for among these voices were those who held their faith with earnestness and even gave their life for it. All we can say is that the orthodox Protestant Reformers were intolerant, but that that intolerance was historically conditioned both by their inheritance and their environment, and religiously motived by the Old Testament, by the ecumenical creeds, and by their general theological rigor. Besides they were so constituted both temperamentally and intellectually that they could not distinguish between error of opinion and depravity of heart, of which one was the other side of the other and both deserved damnation. An interesting illustration of this is Luther in his *Dass diese Worte Christi, Das ist mein Leib, noch fest stehen wider die Schwarmgeister*, 1527. The error of the Zwinglians is itself an evidence that they are of the devil and given over to God's wrath. Thence comes their hardness of heart, for which there is no help, for they have sinned against the Holy Spirit. Luther therefore cannot tolerate them religiously, but only grant a bodily and temporal peace. To tolerate them any further is impossible.

> Do Christ and Belial rhyme together? If we should be one with them in Christian union and love then we must love also their teaching and doing, or at least tolerate them, and not regard ourselves. Do that who will, I not. For Christian union stands in spirit, as we are of one faith, one mind, one heart. But we shall gladly in a worldly way, be one with them, that is, hold a

bodily, temporal peace, but spiritually we shall avoid, condemn and punish them.[1]

It is as though Luther had said: I cannot distinguish between a man's doctrine and himself. If his doctrine is bad he is bad, and my living with him even in external peace is an extraordinary concession for which I have no religious grounds.—Here the old proverb comes in, Do not look a gift-horse in the mouth. We are so thankful for what the Reformers were and for the immense blessings we get directly and indirectly from them that we have no heart for criticism of what they were not and for what they did not and could not give us.

I have read with interest the arguments of that Roman Catholic expert in Reformation history, Dr. Nikolaus Paulus, that the modern world does not owe religious liberty to the Protestant Reformers,[2] as well as the calm objective treatment of the same subject by the Protestant Lic. Dr. Karl Völker.[3] To me the matter presents itself in this way. When Luther threw away the mediæval doctrine of merit, preached the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and went on to other breaks with the Church, it was an assertion of the right of religious freedom of portentous consequences. So also was the appeal from the Church to the Bible. Luther could not have his cake and eat it too. What was right for him could not be wrong for another, whether that other still held by the old Church, or went farther than Luther. The denial of liberty of conscience and of every legitimate consequence of it, therefore, was logically suicidal for Protestants. The first protest made both an historical and logical foundation for another and that for a third. Historically therefore, the Protestant Reformation laid the foundation on

[1] Weimar ed. xxiii., 38–320 (see pp. 80, 85, etc.).
[2] *Lib. cit.*, pp. 339 ff.
[3] *Lib. cit.*, pp. 256 ff.

which freedom must necessarily be built in time, and logically it included it. Whatever other factors therefore actually played a part in the history of modern liberty, it is unhistorical and unreasonable to cut out the Reformation. The Reformers spoke and acted according to their lights, but they built better than they knew.

Criminal Procedure in the Church Courts of the Fifteenth Century
As Illustrated by the Trial of Gilles de Rais

By

Arthur Charles Howland

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE IN THE CHURCH COURTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE TRIAL OF GILLES DE RAIS

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THE inquisitorial procedure in the investigation of crimes, which developed in the Church in the thirteenth century, grew out of the criminal procedure of the later Roman Empire, modified by the special conditions of the times as well as by more primitive Germanic ideas.[1] The older ecclesiastical procedure, the accusatory, likewise based on the Roman law, had left the entire initiative in prosecution to the private accuser, who presented himself in the character of a plaintiff, formulated the accusation, and produced the proofs exactly as he would have done in a civil case, except that he was compelled to accept the *lex talionis*—that is, in case he was unable to support his charges with a reasonable show of evidence, the accuser agreed to submit to the same punishment as would have been inflicted on the accused if the charges had been proved. The obvious objections to this procedure were that the church authorities had no means of prosecuting crime on their own initiative and that the dangers surrounding an unsuccessful accuser, together with the various conditions

[1] See Fournier, *Les officialités au moyen âge*, Paris, 1880.

that had to be fulfilled before a private person could qualify as an accuser in any case, made adequate private prosecution impossible. The accusatory system, it is true, had been modified by the introduction of denunciation, where a denouncer takes the place of the accuser, with this difference, that he is not compelled to subscribe to the *talio* nor is he compelled to possess all the qualifications of a legal accuser. This tended to encourage private prosecution of crimes, but the advantage was more than balanced by the privilege enjoyed by the accused of clearing himself of the charges by purgation, either the oath or the ordeal.

It was the necessity of securing a more adequate system of searching out and punishing crimes, and especially the crimes of the clergy, that led Innocent III, in his work of church reform, to introduce a new method whereby the ecclesiastical judge could himself begin criminal investigations and prosecute them to a conclusion without being compelled to await private initiative. The official charged with this duty of inquisition was primarily the Ordinary, that is, the bishop or his judicial delegate, and the procedure was directed against all crimes justiciable in his court. It was only the long struggle against heresy that finally led to the establishment of a papal inquisition under the direction of especially appointed inquisitors and directed specifically against that one crime; but the bishops still retained their original jurisdiction after the papal institution had been established and continued to make use of the inquisitorial procedure in their courts whenever the circumstances seemed to require it, the only difference being that in connection with other crimes the accused enjoyed certain privileges in defending himself that were denied to one charged with heresy. As regards torture, however, it would appear that it could be applied in the episcopal inquisition as well as in the papal, though it was not as frequently resorted to in the former as in the latter.

The competence of the episcopal court extended over a great variety of crimes. Besides being the court in which all cases involving the clergy were ordinarily tried, it took cognizance of sacrilege and violations of clerical immunity; of all crimes except the most serious committed in sacred places; of infanticide, of sodomy, of crimes against nature and of blasphemy; and in addition shared with the papal inquisition a jurisdiction over heresy, sorcery, and magic.

Although in the fourteenth century trials might still be conducted under the system of accusation, yet in important cases the alternative procedure by inquisition had almost entirely superseded it, even in episcopal courts, because of its greater effectiveness. To guard against certain obvious dangers of inquisition, however, rules had been devised to safeguard the accused, though these, as we shall see, were not an adequate protection against defects inherent in the system. In the first place, no person of good repute could be prosecuted by inquisition. A public rumor involving the accused must be in existence so that no one whose reputation was intact could be summoned before an inquisitorial court. It was permissible, however, for the bishop to institute proceedings on his own initiative to determine the existence of such a rumor, either by means of the machinery of the old synodal witnesses in existence from early times, or by means of a special inquiry instituted by himself *ad hoc*. As the amount of evidence necessary to establish a public rumor or *diffamatio* against a person was left to the discretion of the judge it can be seen that good reputation was little protection against the action of the court. The accused, however, had the right to dispute the existence of the *diffamatio* and in theory could appeal to the next higher court to have the point settled. If the appeal were allowed and the judge could not sustain the allegation of public rumor the prosecution must be dropped.

On the establishment of the *diffamatio*, the judge cites the accused to appear before him and may imprison him. At his first appearance the full charges on which he is to be tried are supposed to be communicated to the accused, and no new accusations may be introduced during the course of the trial. From the fourteenth century on it was usual for the bishop to appoint a prosecuting officer, known as the *promotor*, who assumed the rôle of a modern prosecutor, drew up the charges, marshaled the evidence, and demanded punishment, thus in form relieving the bishop of appearing openly as both accuser and judge, though as the *promotor* acted strictly under the direction of the court the distinction was apparent rather than real. The accused was confronted with the witnesses and they were sworn in his presence but their examination occurred in secret at the hands of the judge, their testimony being afterwards communicated to the accused who had the privilege of "rescuing" them, in other words of showing that their testimony was inadmissible on account of enmity or other good cause. He also had the opportunity of producing witnesses in his own behalf in order to disprove the charges. Nor was the accused denied the right, in ordinary inquisitorial procedure, of employing an advocate to look after his interests and direct the defense.

Finally, the judge was required to pronounce a lighter sentence than would have followed conviction for a similar offense obtained under the old accusatory process. An exception to this rule was recognized in cases of murder, simony, and heresy, where the full rigor of the law was enforced even in inquisition.

In the procedure of the Holy Office, or papal inquisition against heresy, most of the above precautions for safeguarding the rights of the accused were, as is well known, withdrawn. Thus the particular charges against the accused were not necessarily communicated to him; neither were the

names of the witnesses for the prosecution. His privilege of "recusing" the witnesses against him was largely nullified by removing all disabilities for witnesses except deadly enmity. The right of employing an advocate was withdrawn. And finally torture was applied both to the accused and to the witnesses on the slightest indication of concealment of the full truth.

It is these advantages furnished by the procedure of the Holy Office that account for the fact that so many criminal prosecutions in the church courts in the late Middle Ages, especially prosecutions animated by political considerations, included the charge of heresy, whereby a papal inquisitor could be associated with the episcopal judge and the advantages of the stricter procedure against heresy secured even in the bishop's court. This too is probably the reason why the charge of sorcery appears so often at this period, as it was the easiest means of establishing the presumption of heresy against men guilty of no theological divagations but who merely shared the general opinions of the age. I need only cite the trials of the Templars and of Jeanne d'Arc, or point to the failure of the prosecution of Guichard, Bishop of Troyes where the coöperation of the papal inquisition was not secured, to indicate the necessity of combining the two methods in cases where the authorities desired an inevitable conviction.

The condemnation of Gilles de Rais, Marshal of France, before the episcopal court of the Bishop of Nantes in 1440 furnishes an excellent illustration of the criminal procedure of the day. The case is notable not only because of the high position and distinguished career of the Marshal but because of the nature of the crimes for which he was punished, which has given him in the eyes of posterity the reputation of being the most cruel and bloodthirsty beast in all the annals of crime. An impartial examination of the records of his trial, however, and a consideration of

the methods of procedure leading to his conviction, seem calculated to cast some doubt on the extent of his guilt.[1]

Gilles de Rais was born in 1404, a scion of the great houses of Rais and Laval, and was through inheritance and marriage probably the most powerful noble of Brittany next to the Montforts who held the ducal title. During the later stages of the Hundred Years War he played a distinguished part, taking service against the English before he was sixteen years of age. At the time Jeanne d'Arc appeared on the scene he was in the service of the King of France and in high favor at court through the influence of one of his relatives, La Trémoille, the king's favorite. At the relief of Orléans in 1429 he was joint commander of the escort furnished Jeanne d'Arc and for his services in this and subsequent operations he was created Marshal of France by Charles VII at the time of the coronation at Rheims. He continued as companion in arms and partisan of the Maid of Orléans until the time of the ill-fated attack on Paris. His activities in the king's service continued still longer, in fact until La Trémoille fell from power in 1433, after which he seems to have gradually retired from public life, though he did not share the favorite's disgrace and is still spoken of as taking part in the English wars as late as 1439, the year before his trial.

In spite of his withdrawal from the court, the Baron de Rais was an important pawn in the complicated diplomatic game being played by Duke John of Brittany, the French king, and the English. His castles occupied strong strategic positions along the borders of France and Brittany and their control was a matter of vital importance to the duke.

[1] The documents in the case were published some thirty years ago by de Moulde as an appendix to the Abbé Bosard's *Gilles de Rais, dit Barbe-Bleue*, Paris, 1886. The learned Abbé is fully persuaded as to the reliability of the evidence and the guilt of the Marshal de Rais. See the discussion of the trial in Lea, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages.*

The latter had long followed the policy of playing off English against French interests in furtherance of the old Breton ambition of independence, but the declining power of the English after 1430 forecast the absorption of Brittany by France, a fate which finally overtook it fifty years later. The nobles along the eastern border were strongly susceptible to French influence and among them the family of Gilles de Rais, the Lavals, formed a powerful combination hostile to Duke John and his policy, so that Gilles was in a position, if he chose, to give the king a most important foothold on the borders of Brittany. The danger from the French side was temporarily lessened by the prolongation of the English wars and by the influence of the Duke of Brittany's brother, the Constable de Richemont, for the moment the chief supporter and adviser of King Charles, having recently replaced La Trémoille as royal favorite. A court revolution, however, of which Charles VII's reign had furnished so many, might at any time remove this barrier to French aggression, whereupon de Rais would have it in his power to open the gates of Brittany to the French.

Thus we find a powerful motive for the ruin of this noble and the confiscation of his fiefs. For some time, however, it appeared as though he might accomplish his own ruin without the intervention of the duke. It was the eve of the Renaissance in France and already those literary, artistic, and scientific currents were setting in motion which were to transform the medieval into the modern world. Gilles was a contemporary of Charles of Orléans and the Good King René of Provence. He was a great lover and patron of the theater, of music, of art and literature. Young, rich, energetic and deprived of a promising political career through the fall of the royal favorite, La Trémoille, he threw himself after 1433 with the greatest ardor into all those pursuits and extravagances that characterized the nobles of the Renaissance. At a time when vast throngs all over

France were flocking to see theatrical representations he took part in the presentation of mysteries and defrayed the expenses of their production. He sought to draw into his service learned men from various quarters. He collected illuminated manuscripts. He maintained large bodies of soldiers at his own expense both in the field and in his various castles. To satisfy his love of music and of splendor he founded a collegiate chapel at his estate of Machecoul, in which was installed a chapter of some thirty canons and a great choir of boys. He spared no expense in providing the most elaborate fittings and artistic decorations for his chapel, and he sought far and wide for beautiful voices for his choir whose possessors he did not hesitate to entice into his service by rich gifts and pensions. He was accustomed to take with him on his journeys not only a large retinue of troops but also his entire chapter of canons and his choir and even had a portable organ constructed that he might not lack an elaborate service wherever he went. Moreover he was lavish in alms, bestowing immense sums in charity on all suitable occasions to the poor who flocked to the gates of his castle.

Not even the large revenues of a de Rais, however, could long withstand such prodigal expenditures and he was soon in want of money. This was the opportunity of the Duke of Brittany, who now came forward with an offer to buy certain of his vassal's fiefs. The temptation was too great to be withstood and one by one the baron's strong castles began to fall into his suzerain's hands, though Gilles took pains to insert in each deed of alienation a clause stipulating a right of redemption within six years on the return of the purchase money; for it would appear that, in common with most men of the time who dabbled in science, he was convinced of the possibility of transmuting metals and had been persuaded by one at least of the charletans whom his reputation had drawn around him, namely a certain Italian

named Prelati, that the discovery of the philosopher's stone would soon place untold wealth at his disposal.

The continued alienation of his castles to the Duke of Brittany alarmed both his family and the King of France, from whom his relatives secured a decree in 1435 forbidding any further sales. Relying on the duke's protection, Gilles paid no regard to this prohibition, but from time to time, as his needs required, continued to dispose of his chief strongholds.

The duke's position, however, was not a strong one, for all purchases made since the issuance of the king's prohibitory letters of 1435 were illegal and might be reclaimed. In fact, in the spring of 1440, Gilles himself seems to have lost faith in the philosopher's stone, and despairing of ever being in a position to redeem his estates, determined to take advantage of the situation and recover them by force. Among his recent sales had been the castle and village of St.-Étienne-de-Mer-Morte, purchased ostensibly by the duke's treasurer and now held by the treasurer's brother, John le Ferron, a man who had received the tonsure and so enjoyed clerical immunity. On Whitsunday of 1440, Gilles with a band of armed followers attacked Le Ferron as he was hearing mass in the village church, seized his person, and compelled him to surrender the castle.

The duke, it is true, assisted by his brother, the Constable de Richemont, found little difficulty in recovering possession and inflicting a money indemnity upon the rebel, but this new attitude of his vassal put in jeopardy all his border acquisitions made since 1435, for Charles VII was notoriously fickle and open to the influence of favorites, and if the Constable de Richemont should once be replaced at the royal court the way was open for Gilles, supported by his powerful Laval relatives, to secure the king's assistance and enforce the royal mandate of five years before.

Thus there is established a strong political motive for

the ruin of the spendthrift baron. It was not a task, however, that could be safely undertaken by the secular power alone, for the baronage of Brittany were traditionally jealous of ducal authority and more than likely to resent an attack on one of their number. If the duke by legal proceedings in his own court could bring about the destruction of the most powerful lord of Brittany, what guarantee had the others against similar action? The intervention of the Church alone could protect the duke against their fears while securing at the same time the confiscation of the coveted estates.

The career of Gilles had already made him amenable to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. His seizure of the clerk John le Ferron and his attack on the church of St.-Étienne during the solemnity of the mass were acts of sacrilege, while his well-known interest in alchemy and his search for the philosopher's stone had brought him under suspicion of sorcery, these studies being seldom or never unaccompanied at this period by the practice of magic—a practice which, though common enough, was nevertheless classed as heresy by the Church. In fifteenth-century France, however, charges of violation of church immunities and of sorcery were not in themselves sufficient, unaccompanied by more atrocious misdeeds, to excite that universal horror and detestation necessary to induce the baronage to forget their corporate interests and withdraw their support from a fellow noble threatened by the prince. Most of the nobles had themselves probably been guilty of the degree of sacrilege and magic involved in the present instance. What was required under the circumstances was a proof of horrors and depravity such as would forfeit all support or assistance on the part of the Breton nobility.

The duke found a ready instrument in the person of his chancellor and chief adviser, John de Malestroit, Bishop of Nantes, a relative of the ducal house and himself a pur-

chaser of some of the de Rais estates. Shortly after the attack on St.-Étienne, we find the bishop conducting a diocesan visitation of his various parishes in order to establish the *diffamatio* or public rumor which would legally empower him to proceed by inquisition against Gilles de Rais. The results of this preliminary investigation are set forth in the first document of the case that has come down to us —a letter of defamation issued by the bishop on the 30th of July. This document, so important in judging of the subsequent course of the prosecution, reads as follows:

John, by divine permission and by grace of the Holy Apostolic See, bishop of Nantes, to all who shall see this letter, greeting in the Lord and full faith in these presents:

We make known by this letter that having visited the parish of St. Mary of Nantes, wherein the hereinafter-mentioned Gilles de Rais often dwelt in a house commonly known as le Suze, and a parishioner of which church he was; and having visited the other hereinafter-mentioned parishes, public and frequent report first calling our attention to the matter and this being seconded by the demands and suspicions of the following good and discreet persons: [Here follow the names of seven persons of the lower classes, inhabitants of Nantes or its environs] urged also by the testimony of the synodal witnesses of these churches and by other upright and discreet men and persons above suspicion whom in our visitation of the churches and in the conduct of our office of diocesan visitation we have caused to be diligently examined regarding the hereinafter-mentioned matters and others:—By these means we have learned, and by the depositions of these witnesses it has come to our knowledge, that a certain noble, the Lord Gilles de Rais, knight, lord and baron of the said place and subject to our jurisdiction, has strangled, slain, and inhumanly murdered many innocent boys by his own hand and by means of certain accomplices: and with these same children has performed acts of lust and committed sodomy: and has made and caused to be made again and again the horrid invocation of demons, has sacrificed and made offerings to them and has entered into a

compact with them, and has committed other enormous misdeeds within our jurisdiction. And in many other and diverse visitations by us, our commissioners and procurators undertaken, we learn that the said Gilles de Rais has perpetrated the beforementioned crimes and committed other wicked deeds in our diocese. Regarding which things there existed and still exists among good and sober men public and notorious defamation. And lest anyone should hesitate concerning these things we have ordered and caused these our present letters to be confirmed and strengthened by our seal.

Dated at Nantes on the next to the last day of July in the year of our Lord 1440.

Several points will be noted in this document. First, it is extra-judicial, not a necessary part of the court record but addressed to all and sundry for the purpose, as indicated in the last sentence, of overcoming any hesitation in possible witnesses by announcing the bishop's intention to prosecute the above charges. In other words it is an invitation to scandal, malice, and self-interest. Second, the names of seven witnesses only are cited, who furnish no details of the crimes. Third, the crimes enumerated are such as the witnesses mentioned could not possibly have had any direct knowledge of. They are such charges as have in all ages been brought against unpopular persons and sects, including heretics, sorcerers, Jews, and early Christians, when the authorities wished their ruin. Such charges were naturally calculated to gain currency among an ignorant peasantry in a superstitious age, especially if we bear in mind that it was common knowledge in the country round that the baron practiced alchemy, that he had great furnaces for experiments at his castle of Tiffauge, that he had in his employ certain learned men from Italy, and that for the service of his choir and as pages for the members of his extensive retinue a very large number of boys were in the baron's household. And fourth, it is to be noted that, as the later developments

will show, the subsequent course of the trial did not disclose a single new charge except the attack on St.-Étienne. In fact, this letter of July 30th outlined the whole plan of campaign, leaving only the details of the crimes to be filled in by the confessions of the accused and his accomplices. These confessions never traveled outside of the program indicated.

The letter of defamation was not published openly but used discreetly to obtain further depositions, and no active steps were taken against the baron for six weeks, the time being occupied in seeking new witnesses and in organizing the court. There were three jurisdictions to which the charges made him amenable—the bishop's, the duke's, and the papal inquisitor's. It required, however, delicate manipulation to secure the person of the baron without exciting violent resistance or alarming the jealousy of his fellow nobles, so that at first only the bishop and the duke appear in the matter, the inquisitor being left in the background.

When the plans of the prosecution were completed the bishop, in accordance with the regular practice of ecclesiastical courts, issued on September 13th letters of citation addressed to all priests and notaries of his diocese ordering them to summon Gilles de Rais to appear before his episcopal court at Nantes on September 19th, there to answer the charges of inhumanly murdering, slaying, and killing many children, committing sodomy and many other crimes against nature too horrible to be indicated in this citation but which, as was said, will be set forth in Latin at the proper time and place; of invoking demons, offering sacrifices to them and making compacts with them; and perpetrating many other enormities involving heresy to the offense of Divine Majesty and the subversion of the faith.

There is reason to believe that this citation was scattered broadcast throughout the diocese in order to excite popular

execration, but it certainly never came to the knowledge of the accused, for on the day following its issue a notary of the bishop together with an officer of the duke appeared before the castle of Machecoul and summoned its lord to appear before the bishop's court to answer the charge of heresy, the other points in the indictment being suppressed. Gilles, confident in the soundness of his faith, fell into the trap thus skilfully laid, and though he might have put up a stout resistance or fled to his powerful relatives across the border, readily consented to accompany the officials to Nantes. With him were taken his servants Henriet and Poictou, his alchemist Prelati, and a priest named Blanchet. Two young nobles, his intimate companions for some years, had perhaps been warned of the impending blow; at least they had left the country a few days before. The servants mentioned were deemed sufficient witnesses for the prosecution and it was an obvious danger to bring within range of the court two of the nobility who might be able to supply testimony in the baron's favor.

Arrived at Nantes, Gilles was at once thrown into prison in the New Tower and left without aid or advice to await the summons of the court.

Meanwhile the bishop had seized and imprisoned an old woman known as La Meffraye, a servant of the baron's, and from her had extracted full details of her master's alleged crimes. By what means this confession was obtained we are not told, but there is every reason to suppose that it was by torture. In any case it was not legal evidence, for her examination did not take place in court nor were her statements ever produced before the judges. They were, however, circulated through the city among the common people and her vampire tale of stealing children right and left and delivering them to the baron for torture and murder was used to excite the fury of the mob. Curiously enough she was never called to account nor punished

for these crimes so far as our records show, though she may have fallen a victim to the mob on her release from prison.

Five days after his arrest, on September 19th, Gilles was brought before the bishop and charged by the official prosecutor or *promotor* with the crime of heresy, but in general terms only. He denied the charges and offered to prove his innocence either before the present court or before any papal inquisitor. The purpose of his judges being thus accomplished by the recognition of their jurisdiction, a ten days' adjournment was decreed, and the bishop at once associated with himself John Blouyn, a Dominican, vice-inquisitor for that part of France, and so constituted a double court, as had been done ten years before in the trial of Jeanne d'Arc. In such a tribunal the procedure would be unrestricted by the safeguards nominally surrounding an inquisitorial process before the bishop alone.

On September 28th, Gilles did not appear in court but the time was occupied in examining witnesses regarding the disappearance of children during the past few years. Only two witnesses could be found in addition to the seven cited in the original defamatory letter, and none of them had any knowledge of what had become of the lost children until they had been enlightened by the details of La Meffraye's confession, now in circulation throughout the city. This would seem to disprove the bishop's claim in his declaration of infamy of July 30th that Gilles was charged by general public rumor with child murder and unnatural crimes.

All things being now prepared a new trap was sprung on the unsuspecting prisoner. It must be remembered that up to this time he had been kept in ignorance of any charges against him except the vague and general charge of heresy and so had been induced to recognize the jurisdiction of the bishop and vice-inquisitor. On October 8th, however, after a crowd had been admitted to the Lower Hall of the New Tower to create a dramatic scene by demanding ven-

geance for their murdered children, Gilles was summoned from his prison to the Upper Hall and there charged for the first time by the *promotor* with child murder and other horrors connected with it, though this was done irregularly, not in writing but by word of mouth and in Latin. Gilles caught enough of the purport of the charges, however, to recognize their nature and at once appealed from his judges and demanded that the case be transferred to another court. The appeal was denied as frivolous on the ground that it was not in writing, though he was given no opportunity to put it on paper and moreover was not allowed an advocate by whose advice he might have been able to anticipate the technicalities of the court's ruling. In the confusion of the moment he denied the charges made by the promotor, thus technically joining issue with the prosecutor and initiating the regular second stage of the proceedings; but he continued to deny the competence of the court by refusing to take the oath *de calumnia*, for which he was threatened with excommunication for contumacy and remanded to prison.

At the session of October 13th the *promotor* finally produced the written indictment of forty-nine articles setting forth the charges in detail, including the murder of more than 140 children and including also the crime of sacrilege in violating the church immunities—a charge that had been kept in the background up the present as not calculated to arouse the wrath of the mob. Gilles again refused to plead, attacked the judges, and appealed a second time to a different court. When some of the worst charges were repeated to him in French he broke out into insults and the session closed with a second rejection of his appeal and a formal and written sentence of excommunication against him for denying the jurisdiction of the court.

At his next appearance a remarkable change had come over the prisoner for which the records do not attempt to account.

Perhaps it was due to his realization of his utter helplessness before the court so long as he remained under excommunication. Perhaps, as he was a man of curious piety and love of the Church whatever his private conduct may have been, the sense of disobedience to and exclusion from the Church weighed too heavily on his spirits. Perhaps again, and this seems most likely from the subsequent course of events, he had received private assurance from some source that the more heinous charges would not be pressed if he acknowledged the others. At any rate, on the 15th of October he appeared before his judges, acknowledged their jurisdiction, and freely confessed to the practice of alchemy and the attempt to transmute metals, but denied the invocation of demons and the other serious charges of the indictment, as to the truth of which he said he was willing to trust his case entirely and completely to the evidence of his servants and fellow prisoners, Prelati, Blanchet, Henriet, Poictou, and La Meffraye, who were thereupon brought in and sworn in his presence but of course remanded for private examination by the judges. Gilles was even offered the opportunity of drawing up a list of questions to be asked these witnesses, a very unusual concession in inquisitorial procedure. He declined to do so as he declared he could trust to their telling the full truth. He then knelt before his judges and humbly prayed for the removal of his excommunication, a prayer graciously granted by the bishop and inquisitor who immediately reconciled him to the Church, in spite of the charge of heresy still hanging over his head.

The following days were devoted to the examination of Gilles's fellow prisoners. There can be little doubt that they were tortured. Their evidence never traveled outside the counts in the indictment nor indeed added anything but details to the public rumors mentioned in the letter of defamation. In the case of the two servants, Henriet and

Poictou, who were destined to meet the same fate as their master, the confessions agree exactly—in some places word for word and that in regard to occurrences of years before and even in the matter of figures,[1]—so that there can be little doubt that their answers were dictated.

Prelati's confession was naturally different, dealing as it did with the evocation of demons, but is full of absurdities and impossibilities which stamp him either as a lying charletan or as giving the required testimony under compulsion—probably the latter, as his evidence agrees so entirely with the charges formulated by the *promotor*. The evidence of the priest Blanchet is carefully arranged to exculpate himself and at the same time be as damaging to Gilles as possible. As a matter of fact both he and Prelati escaped punishment entirely, though the latter according to his own confession had offered a murdered child to his demon, Barron, and had been constant and sometimes successful in his evocations of the devil.

When Gilles appeared again in court on the 20th of October he was still ignorant of these confessions and refused to add anything to his previous admissions regarding alchemy. Thereupon the evidence of his alleged accomplices was read to him. If we may believe the court records, he made no protest against their testimony, but the fact that he still refused to confess anything further would seem to show either that the records have been falsified at this point or that Gilles did not fully comprehend the purport of the

[1] To quote a single instance, Poictou in his deposition describes the removal some years before of the bones of murdered children from the castle of Champtocè to Machecoul and says: "Repertaque fuerunt in dicta turri ossamenta triginta sex vel quadraginta sex puerorum, alias non est memor de numero eorundem, que ossamenta jam erant desiccata." In dealing with the same incident Henriet's deposition reads: "Et in ea [sc. turri] reperierunt ossamenta triginti sex vel quadraginta sex puerorum, alias non recolit; que ossamenta jam erant desiccata, sed ea computarunt seu numerarunt per capita et alias."

confessions owing to their being read rapidly in Latin; for he was not given the opportunity of reading them at leisure.

Notwithstanding their apparently conclusive evidence as to the defendant's guilt, the *promotor* at once demanded in view of the prisoner's obstinacy that he be put to the torture, "in order to elucidate the matter more fully," and the judges after a brief consultation so decreed, provided he could not show good cause for a denial of the motion. This was on Thursday, and Saturday was assigned the accused to present any pleas or arguments he might wish to urge against the employment of torture.

The apparent uncertainty as to the court's final action on this question seems to have been a ruse to break down the prisoner's powers of resistance, for on Friday morning he was suddenly summoned into the torture chamber and ordered to prepare himself for its immediate application. The plan, if premeditated, was successful. For twenty-four hours the prisoner had been left to meditate on the prospect of torture but with the hope that his final pleas might dissuade his judges from this last rigor. Now, this hope was shattered, and suddenly confronted with the implements of torture his resolution broke down completely. He threw himself on the mercy of the court and humbly begged for postponement until the next day by which time he declared he would be ready to satisfy their minds regarding the details of the crimes with which he was charged so that they might be "spared the trouble" of torturing, as he put it with rather grim humor. The court feared to lose the advantage of this new frame of mind and consented to delay only until two o'clock when, if part at least of the charges had not been admitted, torture should at once follow. They graciously permitted him, however, to pass the intervening hours outside the torture chamber, and before the period had expired Gilles placed in their hands a general confession to

all counts, though unable at the time to enter into details. The following day, in the presence of a great crowd gathered for that purpose, he repeated his confession with a full description of all his crimes, though this added nothing to the previous evidence of his servants. The importance placed upon exciting the anger and violence of the mob is seen in the fact that the confession, made in Latin, was, in all its details, immediately repeated in the common speech, for the benefit of the crowd.

Three days later, Gilles was brought before the court for sentence. By the bishop and vice-inquisitor jointly he was condemned for heresy and the invocation of demons; and by the bishop alone sentence was passed on the charges of unnatural crime, sacrilege, and the violation of ecclesiastical immunities. The punishment in each case was excommunication. What constitutes a striking irregularity, however, was that though convicted of heresy, he was not required to abjure but was reconciled on the spot and readmitted to full communion with the Church.

Such unexampled leniency is to be accounted for only by the fact that the purpose of the prosecution was being accomplished through another agency. While the ecclesiastical judges had been conducting their investigations, the trial of part of the charges, those relating to the murder of infants, had been proceeding simultaneously in the neighboring court of the duke, which had done little by itself except to examine a large number of witnesses in regard to the mysterious disappearance of children during the past ten years. This court had however accepted in full faith and without further investigation the evidence presented in the church court. Therefore when Gilles de Rais had received his sentence and full reconciliation at the hands of the bishop and the inquisitor, he was at once led before the secular court and there condemned to hanging and burning and the confiscation of all his estates to the Duke of Brittany.

The next day the sentence was carried out and with him were executed his two servants, Henriet and Poictou.

No record contains mention of the punishment of the other accomplices. In any case their fate must have been a matter of indifference to the duke and his friends since their master's conviction had resulted in the final transfer of all the de Rais castles into his hands.

Recent Sources of Information on the Anabaptists in the Netherlands

By
Henry Elias Dosker

RECENT SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE ANABAPTISTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

By Henry Elias Dosker, Professor of Church History in the Louisville Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

(*Read December 27, 1915*)

THE subject is not of my own choosing. It was assigned to me by our Secretary, when he invited me last summer to write a paper for this meeting of the Society. The raeson for this request lies in the fact that, for the last dozen years, much of my spare time has been spent in special work on this engrossing subject, which is shrouded in much mystery. But we all know something about the great Anabaptist movement, which paralleled the history of the Reformation. We have all touched these Anabaptists in their life and labors, in the sixteenth century, in all Europe, but especially in Switzerland, upper Germany, and Holland. Crushed and practically wiped out everywhere else, they rooted themselves deeply in the soil of northeastern Germany and above all in the Low Countries. And thence, whenever persecution overwhelmed them, they crossed the channel and moved to England, where their history is closely interwoven with that of the Nonconformists in general and especially with the nascent history of the English Baptists.

Now we historians do not consider existing things by themselves, but the thing of absorbing interest to us all is the genetic process by which existing things came to be what they are. Or as the Germans say, we study not only

das Ding an sich, aber wie es geworden ist was es ist. And thus these many years my eyes had been searching the distant horizon for further light and a deeper understanding of the Anabaptist movement, especially on account of their historic connection with my fatherland. Fortunately the language was no bar to the research work, as most of the available sources were written in modern or middle Dutch. Hooft and Brandt and Wagenaar had written on the Anabaptists, especially the latter two. Ypey and Dermout in their history of the State Church of Holland had necessarily touched their history again and again, inasmuch as the Anabaptist question remained a burning one in Holland till the close of the eighteenth century. I had read, after Cramer, Blaupot ten Cate, and how many others, who were intimately acquainted with the history of the Anabaptists, and yet there remained a void. For all these afforded only a reflected light, a picture of the Anabaptist world as seen through the eyes of others. And I longed for the open vision, for a look face to face, for the writings of these old Anabaptists themselves or for what their contemporaries had written about them. But these documents were so rare and so jealously guarded that they were practically inaccessible; for the power of the Church and of the State had vied with each other in efforts to wipe this heretical literature from the face of the earth. Nor had any difference been made between the writings of the three successive reformatory waves, which, in the early part of the sixteenth century, had swept over the Lowlands. As you know these three were the Lutheran, the Anabaptist, and the Calvinistic movements. And each had left its own literature, of which undoubtedly the greater part was destroyed by the Inquisition. Ah that we had it all to-day; how much that is now dark would be clear as the noonday! And what remains is exceedingly precious and rare. Of several of these literary products only one copy remains, of some two or more, of

a few some copies of different editions. And it is this literature that is needed for a proper study of early Dutch Protestantism, and in a special degree for that of the Anabaptist movement. For they were the despised and hated of all; judged, in the mass, by the political and revolutionary excesses of the Anabaptists, specially so called to distinguish them from the *Doopsgezinden*, a word incapable of an idiomatic translation but literally meaning—*those inclined to baptism*, so that the generic term "Baptists" perhaps is the best translation in English.

Some of our own historians went across the sea and searched far and wide for these precious documents, yet in the end were compelled almost without exception to fall back on second-hand information, because even after they found the documents, they were inaccessible, and if they laid their hands on them, they were confronted with the unsurmountable obstacle of the language, till many turned away in weariness and disgust.

Then came the blessed year 1902, in which Professor Dr. S. Cramer, of Amsterdam, and Professor Dr. F. Pijper, of Leyden, resolved to assume the heroic labor of collecting and editing all this early Reformatory Dutch literature, so far as it remained. It was a grueling and thankless task. There was no money in it; I do not think the publication ever paid for itself. They have given to the students of Church History an actual reprint of these documents, word for word, comma for comma, so that one has access to-day to the very sources which a dozen years ago were priceless. And in this heartless and monotonous labor they spent twelve of the best years of their lives, till ten quarto volumes had been issued and each ancient document had been enriched with an introduction, so searching, so illuminating, so full in information that the document itself is trebled in value.

Dr. Cramer died before the last volume was issued, but

Dr. Pijper was able to see the matter through to the end. Thus the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* will forever remain a proud monument to the memory of these two Dutch scholars. These volumes it has been my privilege to study. You may be interested to know what they contain about the Anabaptists, also what came to me through this study.

I

The "Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica" and the Anabaptists

These ten volumes form a rich storehouse of information concerning the entire Anabaptist movement, but especially that in Holland. But alas, as has been said, the language is a serious drawback. Were they written in modern Dutch the problem would be comparatively easy to solve. But they are written in the Dutch of the sixteenth century, a composite tongue with a weird spelling and weirder punctuation, so that even to a common Dutchman of fair education they would prove a perfect puzzle. But whoever has mastered the key to their understanding finds here a surprising mine of information, concerning the Anabaptist movement in general, and of that in Holland in particular.

Here we get a glimpse of their peculiar *Weltanschauung*, their Puritanical, almost ascetic view of life, their theology, in many points radically at variance with Rome and the reformers alike. Here we find the secret of their strength as well as of their weakness, of their internal divisions and endless quarrels, of the sublimity of their courage and countless martyrdoms. One cannot peruse these documents, hoary with age, without an increasing reverence for a people apparently so weak yet so strong, loyal to their convictions to the bitter end, ever quarreling within the

family-circle, yet always showing a united front to the common foe.

The entire second volume of the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* is devoted to the martyrology of the Dutch Anabaptists. Here we find *Het Offer des Heeren* (The Sacrifice of the Lord), and I dare say without fear of contradiction, that a more pathetic story of martyrdoms was never told. The reading of it grips one with a strange power after all these centuries. In its day—and Dr. Cramer, in giving us this reprint, has followed the edition of 1570—it was a very popular book. To it is added a collection of songs written by the condemned, while waiting for their execution, entitled *Een Liedboexken*. The whole was printed in a pocket edition, which was made possible, as Cramer says, "by the excellent typographical execution of the sixteenth century and by the excellent paper on which it is printed." The whole volume, bound in leather, was only 12.6 cm. long, 7.7 wide, and 3.3 thick. This pathetic volume is all the more valuable as a historical source, because it recounts the entire *procès-verbal* of the Inquisitorial examination and affords us therefore an exceedingly illuminating picture of the faith and practice of the early Anabaptists.

The entire fifth volume of the series is devoted to the so-called Dutch Anabaptistica. The works of David Joris and the Münster Anabaptists are not included, for the simple reason that they have been printed before. Here we find Henrick Roll's *Die Slotel van het Secreet des Nachtmaels* (The Key to the Secret of the Supper). So rare is this tract that only three copies of it are known to exist. One of them found by the Dutch antiquary, F. Muller, is now the priceless possession of the Rochester seminary. The second was found in the University library at Utrecht and the last in that of Zürich. As Roll was co-pastor of Rothmann at Münster till the complete ascendency of John of Leyden, this tract of 123 pages gives us a clear idea of

the Anabaptists in the period prior to the Mennonite reconstruction, in which Menno Simons and Dirk Philips on the one hand and David Joris and Adam Pastor on the other had given them deeper and firmer convictions.

Here also we find several works of Melchior Hoffman, "the father of the Dutch Anabaptists," a restless, changeable character, with prophetic hallucinations; yet a born leader of men, who with Jan Trypmaker, his convert, faced death under a thousand forms, in his Anabaptist propaganda. He and Trypmaker are the men who, for a time at least, gave to the Dutch Anabaptistic movement the frenzied revolutionary type which issued in the Münster catastrophe. He wrote voluminously, but was soon replaced, as a leader, by men of a more sober mind. And thus it is that, although for a brief period a faction of the Anabaptists at least were named Melchiorites after him, his leadership passed into oblivion before he died. Indicted, imprisoned, and released only by death after ten years, he recanted most of his doctrines before he passed away.

Two of his works are found in this collection: *Die Ordinantie Gods*, in which he expounds his views on the imminent parousia of Christ, his strange doctrine of the incarnation, etc.; and also his *Verclaringhe van de gheuangen ende vrien wil* (Explanation of the captive and free will), both tangible sources of information concerning his theological views. And in immediate juxtaposition with these works of Hoffman, we find here the printed charges of the Strassburg clergy, under which he was tried and condemned. Here also are the acts of the Strassburg disputation, in which he tried to defend and expound his views. The whole is a singularly illuminating source of information in regard to the labors and fate of Hoffman.

In this fifth volume we meet with still another great Anabaptist leader, Adam Pastor, to many students of Anabaptist history a name no more. And yet with the

exception of Sebastian Franck, he was the most advanced liberal among them, who paved the way for the wide spread of Socinianism in the North, by his denial of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and the personality of the Holy Ghost, by his extreme views of liberty of conscience and his strange views of the sacraments. Not only the most advanced, but also one of the most cultured of the early Anabaptists, he was yet unable to create a school or to form a party but was expelled by his own brethren. It is therefore a rare privilege to be permitted to learn, at first hand, what were the views of this man. And we are enabled to do this by the study of his *Underscheit tusschen rechte leer vnde valsche leer* (Difference between true and false doctrine) and of his *Disputation van der Godtheit des Vaders, des Soens ende des Hilligen Geistes* (Disputation about the divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost).

Last of all we find in this fifth volume the first trace of an attempt at the consolidation of Anabaptist believers into one cohesive group, which was soon to be known as *Doopsgezinden* or Baptists. In this direction we find here nine rare tracts, in which we meet with a clear and simple exposition of the fundamental distinction between the Anabaptists and their fellow believers with other affiliations.

Of still greater interest to the historian are the contents of volume seventh of the *Bibliotheca*, for here we find historical writings of the reformatory period, which unravel many a mystery and give us a better sense of proportion than we had before. It is worthy of note that all the literature here found is from the hands of opponents of the Anabaptists, or of renegades or expelled individuals. The only exception is Alenson's *Tegenbericht op de voor-Reden van't groote Martelaer Boeck* (Critique of the introduction of the great book of Martyrs), a defense of the edition of 1615 against that of 1626, a tract so rare that the copy here reprinted is the only one in existence. But as Dr. Cramer has said—"the

fact that they were written by opponents does not diminish their historical value. The judgments pronounced may be one-sided, but the writers were evidently well informed." In weighing this statement of Dr. Cramer, let us remember that he was himself one of the foremost leaders of the Dutch Mennonites.

Here then we find the precious *Successio Anabaptistica*, which, with Carel van Ghendt's *Beghinsel ende Voortganck* (Beginning and Progress), is the only attempt of a contemporary to write a history of the Anabaptist communion, of their bickerings and schisms and the causes thereof. The author of the *Successio* is unknown, but he wields a trenchant pen; he is evidently a man of culture and is apparently fully acquainted with their literature, their internal organization, and their widely divergent views. Therein lieś its historical value.

Of no less interest is the *Bekentenisse Obbe Philipsz* (1584) (The Confession of Obbe Philips), the brother of Dirk Philips, the great Anabaptist theologian. The tract is written by one who had been a leader among the Anabaptists and who loved their communion, but now stood outside of it. Cramer tells us of this book:

> No more circumstantial or vivid, no more deeply felt or more finely drawn, and no more trustworthy picture of the tendencies and ideas, which were current among the Dutch Anabaptists from 1534–1536, and of the mind, which then prevailed among them, has come down to us.

And Obbe is so eminently fair, one can almost hear the sob in his voice, as he tells his story. I frankly confess that few of these Anabaptistica have so gripped me as the story of Obbe Philips.

Alenson's *Tegenbericht*, though not printed until 1630, is given a place in this collection because in it numerous things are told from the time of Menno and of the martyr

period, which had come to the author partly from lost books but mostly from the lips of living witnesses, and which are to be found nowhere else in Anabaptist literature. Without this we would know nothing of the practice, among schismatic churches of the communion, of refusing to recognize adult baptism administered by others. We would also be ignorant of the Anabaptist convention of 1555 and its decision anent the incarnation of Christ.

Of equal interest with the former works is the reprint of an amplified translation of Henry Bullinger's great work against the Anabaptists. The first edition was printed in 1531, but thirty years later he re-edited the polemic, under the grandiose title, *Der Widertöufferen vrsprung, fürgang, Secten, wäsen, fürneme vnd gemeine jrer leer Artickel, ouch jre gründ, . . . mit widerlegung vnd Antwort vff alle vnd yede jre gründ vnd artickel, sampt Christenlichem bericht vnd vermanen dasz sy jres irrthumbs vnd absünderens abstandind, . . . beschriben durch Heinrychen Bullingern, . . . Getruckt zu Zürich by Christoffel Froschower, imm Jenner, Anno M.D.LXI.*[1] This work was translated by Gerardus Nicolai and his interpolations (*Inlasschingen*) afford much added light on the conditions prevailing in Anabaptist circles. This interpolated edition appeared eight years after the original and is invaluable for the theology of the Anabaptists.

The last document reprinted in this seventh volume is Carel van Ghendt's *Het beginsel der scheuringen onder de Doopsgezinden* (The beginning of the schisms among the Doopsgezinden). This work, printed in 1615, forms the basis of all historical treatises on the Anabaptists and it is used by their own men as well as by outsiders. Professor DeHoop Scheffer, chief among all the authorities, uses it persistently, albeit not without misgiving. Brandt consulted it for his *History of the Reformation*. The older Cramer used it for his biography of Menno Simons. The question

[1] The British Museum has an edition by Froschower dated March, 1560.

of its authorship is not fully settled, although Carel van Ghendt's name is printed on the title-page. When the book was written, the author was an old man. At twenty-one he had left the Church of Rome, on his conversion to the faith of the Anabaptists, by seeing the death of one of their martyrs. But he had found no peace, for in turn the "Frisians" and later the "Flemings" had cast him out. From that time he became an ecclesiastical freelance, wholly mystical in tendency and far beyond the remnant of organized church-life, found among his former co-religionists. But he continued to take a deep interest in what happened among the Anabaptists and to this lingering affection we owe the preservation of many a curious document.

The interest of the student of Anabaptist history in the ninth volume of the *Bibliotheca* is centered on the *Simplex et Fidelis Narratio* of Johannes Utenhoven, from the fact that it contains the narrative of the expulsion of the first Reformed church ever organized, *i. e.*, that of London, which had received a patent from Edward VI, and had been exiled in the Marian persecution. Its leader was John à Lasco, together with Martin Micron and John Utenhoven, and the latter recited the almost Ulyssean wanderings of the refugee church. They were rejected everywhere; and especially their Lutheran brethren, under the leadership of Joachim Westphal of Hamburg, acted with offensive partisanship. It is a matter of interest to historians, that these early Reformed believers, in all the decrees of expulsion, which ejected them from one place after another, were always named in one breath with the *Wederdoopers*. They themselves are nicknamed *Sacramentarii*, on account of their divergent doctrine of the Supper. It is this identification with the Anabaptists and this bitter sectarianism on the part of the Lutherans which are vividly described in this *Narratio* of Utenhoven. Incidentally the tract gives us a

vivid picture of the bitter struggle waged within the bosom of the Lutheran Church between the Gnesio-Lutherans and the liberalizing Philippists.

When the tenth volume appeared in 1914, Dr. S. Cramer, one of the projectors and editors of this gigantic undertaking, alas, had passed away. He was not permitted to see the laying of the capstone of the building which he had helped to rear, and to him had been committed perhaps the most responsible task of all, the reprinting and introduction of the works of Dirk Philips, to whom the entire tenth volume is devoted.

Dr. Pijper therefore voluntarily undertook the task, which had slipped from the dying hand of his friend and colleague, and he succeeded in the well-nigh impossible undertaking of transplanting himself into the state of mind, almost of veneration, wherewith the Dutch Mennonite views the works of Dirk Philips, next to Menno Simons the most glorious name in the history of the Dutch *Wederdoopers*.

No one who is not familiar with the history of the reformatory period of the Dutch Church can conceive of the inestimable value of the introductions, written by Drs. Pijper and Cramer, for every one of the documents reprinted in the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, nor of the infinite labor of research which they demanded. And of all these, the introductions of Dr. Pijper, in the last volume, are not the least valuable. For here, for the first time, Dirk Philips steps onto the stage, into the light of history. The full record of his literary activity is here given and we scarcely know what to admire most, his trenchant pen, the virility of his thought, the clearness of his style, the breadth of his learning, or the tenderness of his heart.

The *Enchyridion* of Philips is here reprinted, together with his other works—a reply to two epistles of Sebastian Frank (*Verantwoordingh ende refutation op twee Sendtbrieven Sebastiani Frank*); a letter to the four cities (Franeker,

Harlingen, Leeuwarden, Bolsward), where grievous dissensions had occurred among the Anabaptists; an appendix to his work on the schismatic conduct of his co-religionists in Friesland (*Twistigen Handel*); a tract on the marriage of Christians (Anabaptists) (*Van Die Echt der Christenen*); a posthumous publication on the ban and separation (*Ban ende Mydinghe*), together with some personal letters and a few hymns. All these fill nearly seven hundred quarto pages in this volume. If we had nothing else but this tenth volume of the *B. R. N.* it alone would be inestimably valuable for a clearer and better understanding of the entire Anabaptist movement in the sixteenth century, in northwestern Europe.

By bringing to light all these rare and practically lost Anabaptistica, the work as a whole has made clear many things that were nebulous. Many things that were in dispute may now be considered as settled forever, and many things in the history of the English Non-conformists, so closely allied with the Anabaptist movement, in the early period of their development, are explained and cleared up. The whole field of the Anabaptist history has been lifted from the realm of the obscure and debatable into that of clear understanding and appreciation. Also many things in the later development of the history of Protestantism in general are found to be evidently related to or ultimately explainable by the Anabaptist movement in the sixteenth century. Their influence has been manifestly underrated and carries infinitely further than is generally supposed.

II

Our Special Debt to the Editors of this Great Historical Work

A. *We have a far clearer idea of the double current, in the history of the Anabaptists, than we had heretofore.*

The older theory of the claim of apostolic succession for the Anabaptist faith and practice and church-ideals, of an intimate relationship between them and the Waldensians, which was specifically advanced by Keller in his *Die Reformation und die aelteren Reformparteien* (1885), may be considered as exploded through the researches and writings of Kolde and Carl Mueller. So far as we know their history in the reformatory period, their earliest beginnings lie in the Zwickau movement, and the Wittenberg disturbances connected therewith. Konrad Grebel, professor at Zürich, demanded from Zwingli absolute separation between the preaching of the gospel and all political interference and activity. And Grebel was a man of an entirely different type from the fanatics of Zwickau. A. Brons, in her *Taufgesinnte oder Mennoniten*, calls him "ein gebildeter und gelehrter Mann, dazu besonnen und massvoll," a man of parts therefore. Simon Strumpf, one of the pastors of Zürich, was apparently a man of the same type and spirit. Felix Manz, another Zürich professor, famed as a Hebraist, was the third of this triumvirate. Their demand was apparently that which remained the ideal of the right wing of the entire movement, throughout their entire history; they desired to build an entirely new church and they refused to rear it on the old foundations. They were therefore the radicals of the period and of the movement, and no one acquainted with Zwingli can doubt for a moment what his position would be on such a question. Besides the three great leaders mentioned above we have men like George Blaurock, Wilhelm Rubli, Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier, Michael Sattler, Ludwig Hätzer, and Hans Denck. One and all, they stood for the ideal of complete separation between Church and State; one and all, they breathed the ancient Donatist spirit and longed for a church, free from priestly rule and having power within herself, on a gospel basis. It has been said that they were ages ahead of their time. Not so much

that, as that they had a stronger memory than the others. Their tangible history begins in Switzerland. The story of their persecution and martyrdoms there does not concern us in this study. It forms a pathetic page in the annals of the Reformation, of which not one of us, as a Protestant, is excessively proud. But persecution scattered the winged seed far and wide over Europe. Especially along the upper Rhine, in East Frisia, and in the Lowlands, they multiplied at an astonishing rate.

Here they begin to cross the line of vision in the collection under consideration. With Melchior Hoffman in 1529, they enter upon a new period of their history. Here they begin to split into a left and a right wing. It was he who injected his immediate followers with the fanatic, visionary, revolutionary spirit which brought the entire communion, for a long time, under universal condemnation. Hoffman and his convert and successor Jan (Volkerts) Trypmaker preached the gospel of the impending parousia, with ever-increasing zeal. And when Trypmaker lost his life for the cause, in 1531, Jan Matthys of Haarlem raised the banner of revolutionary Anabaptism, with the war-cry, "Take up the sword, the unbelieving must be rooted out." For the next four years the tumult constantly grew. Read Brandt's *History of the Reformation*, the secular histories of Hooft and Wagenaar, and the *Geschiedenis der Hervormde Kerk* of Ypey and Dermout, and you can visualize the intensity of the commotion, which, after the lapse of ages, still brings a chill to the blood. The hectic Hoffmanite movement issued in the catastrophe of Münster, in 1535. But the whole communion of the Anabaptists had not been swept by this storm, although they all occupied the same territory. Many scorned the name Anabaptist, for its very associations, and thus instead of the name *Wederdoopers* we soon find that of *Doopsgezinden*, the name by which the Mennonites are still known in the Netherlands. And this

distinction is everywhere emphasized in the writings under consideration. These *Doopsgezinden* were in the main the founders of the English Baptist churches, and their acknowledged leaders in Holland and East Frisia were Menno Simons and Dirk Philips. But their identification with the revolutionary Anabaptists cost them dear. Says Glasius the historian:

> Very dear the *Doopsgezinden* had to pay for the fact that, in some points, they were of the same mind with the *Wederdoopers* (Anabaptists). Not only had they to bear the hated name, but they were especially the victims on which the sword of the Inquisition dulled itself. They were grossly ill-treated and the Protestants were led to hate them to the utmost, under the impression that they were the progeny of the Münster sect.

The *Bibliotheca* offers abundant proof of the distinction between these two branches of the Anabaptist current, the *Wederdoopers* and the *Doopsgezinden.*

B. *Common traits of the theology of both branches of the Anabaptists.* The Anabaptists from the beginning separated themselves widely from the tenets of the old Catholic Church and from the common Protestant faith as well. They agreed with the Protestants in accepting the "formal principle" of the Reformation, *i. e.*, the absolute authority of the Word of God. But they differed widely from them in their interpretation of the great truths of the gospel; and this difference is equally noticeable between the left and right wings of the Anabaptist movement.

All Anabaptists of whatever affiliation rejected the dogmas of the creeds in regard to the Trinity, the incarnation of Christ, the Sacraments, and, in a minor degree, the atonement of Christ. I do not claim that they absolutely rejected these doctrines, but it is very plain from the old documents reprinted in the *Bibliotheca* that they differed entirely from the rest of Christendom in their statement of these doctrines.

And as there was no Anabaptist or Mennonite Church, and inasmuch as they were the exponents of the later Congregational polity of *individualism*, in personal and congregational beliefs and life, these statements differed again widely in different individuals and groups.

Common to all is this central principle as to the objective of faith: "the change of the lordship of nature into the lordship of the Spirit, through faith in God and in his anointed Jesus Christ" (*T. o. M.*, 65). Says Menno in his *New Creature:* "All those who are born again from God shape their weak lives according to the gospel and endeavor to imitate the example of Christ."

In the disputation in the Franciscan convent at Emden, in 1543, between John à Lasco and Menno Simons, the debate covered the questions of the incarnation of Christ, baptism, original sin, sanctification, and the call to the ministry. And in all these points Menno differed radically from the Reformed churches and so did all his brethren. As to the difference between themselves: in the conference of Strassburg in 1555, between various branches of the Anabaptist communion, some of the Hoffmanites included, it was decided to leave the matter where the Scriptures leave it and not to be wise above what one ought to be. There they say: "In many places of the Holy Scripture it seems as if Christ brought his body from heaven, in others as if he received it from Mary. Further it appears that he is Father and God himself." Thus they confess him "to be God after the inner man," and the "Son of the living Father." They desire to go "no further than the Holy Scripture," which tells us "the word became flesh and dwelt among us." In 1579 in their Emden conference, they once more reasserted their faith or rather belief that it could not be proved that the manner of Christ's birth was an article of faith, or to quote exactly, "dass die Art der Herkunft Christi ein Glaubensartikel sei."

Nay, as late as 1649, in a meeting between the Waterlandians and the Flemings, the old questions were again debated, especially those of the divinity of Christ, his two natures, and the three persons in the Godhead. Anyone who will even superficially study the documents of the *Bibliotheca* will see at once how fundamental were these ideas among the Anabaptists, of all shades. Even the most conservative among them differed *in toto* from the common faith of Christian thought in that period. Menno Simons said:

> God is a spirit, whom the heaven of all heavens cannot contain, and beyond this only living, almighty, all-governing God and Lord, we know no other. He is the inexplicable Father, one with his inexplicable Son and inexplicable Spirit, in will, power, and action; and they can be as little separated, as power, light, and warmth. (*Taufgesinnte oder Mennoniten*, 3. Aufl., 1912, p. 157.)

This looks strangely like Modalism. But, in the "disputation" with Hoffman at Strassburg, in 1533, which led to his incarceration, the first of the charges against Hoffman, is that "he denies that the eternal Word of God has adopted the human nature from the virgin Mary." He denied the two natures in Christ and therefore, by implication, the Trinity. And Hoffman and Menno had very little in common (*Bibliotheca*, v., 220).

Adam Pastor, a radical among the Anabaptists, in his *Underscheit tusschen Rechte Leer unde Valsche Leer* (*Bibliotheca*, v., 315), wholly denies the doctrine of the Trinity and that of the Incarnation, as expressed in the creeds of the Church. He goes far beyond Menno and will not believe what he cannot understand. And if I am not mistaken, Adam Pastor is the first man, in the history of Christian doctrine, to speak of the "god-consciousness" as a key to the understanding of the nature of the divinity of Christ. If he does not teach the modern "*Gottesbewusstsein*," his

doctrine is strangely like it. That idea then would not seem to be quite as modern as is generally supposed. He says: "The divinity of Christ is the Father's wisdom in him, the Father's word, will, spirit, feeling, and desire in him, the Father's love, etc." And again: "Christ is a true image (after the inner man) of the invisible God, since he shared one nature with him, the same will, the same desire, spirit, etc." And finally Dirk Philips, the great theologian of the *Doopsgezinden*, defends a modified doctrine of the Trinity against Sebastian Franck and Adam Pastor (*Bibliotheca*, x.). Here again we are impressed with the modalistic conception of the Trinity advanced by the author. In his *Bekentenisse onses Gheloofs*, he tells us that:

"God is an only God and Lord and in the Old Testament bears many names. But in the New Testament he is named by Jesus Christ himself and called Father, Son and Holy Ghost, with which three names the entire divine essence (as much as is and may be intelligible by man) is expressed."

Notice all absence of the word "person" and the significant comparison between the Old and New Testaments. And when in his bitter opposition to Franck and Pastor he tries to defend and state the orthodox view, in regard to the incarnation of Christ, he concludes "that Christ had no earthly but a heavenly body and that he did not receive his flesh from the Virgin Mary." We are told that he passes through her as light passes through glass, without partaking of any of its constituent elements.

It seems evident that there must be a very close connection between the Anabaptist and Socinian movements and that many late liberal views in the Protestant world were anticipated by if they did not originate in, the Anabaptist communion.

C. *Their views on baptism.* The older view that the Anabaptists were immersionists has been eliminated by

later researches. In his volume on the Baptists in the *American Church History Series* Dr. Newman frankly admits this changed view. Says he:

"Immersion was practiced at St. Gall, Augsburg, Strassburg, and by the Anti-trinitarian Anabaptists of Poland. But the common practice among the Swiss, Austrian, Moravian, and Dutch Anabaptists was affusion. The importance of immersion, as the act of Baptism, seems to have been appreciated by few." (37)

Anent the baptism of Smyth, Helwys, etc., at London, in 1609, he says: "It is almost certain that the rite was administered by affusion and not by immersion." Roger Williams practiced immersion three years before its introduction among the Baptists of England (80). And this change took place in 1641. And this is the commonly accepted view among us to-day, as it has been from time immemorial in the Netherlands.[1] One of the editors of the *B. R. N.*, Dr. S. Cramer, wrote me some years ago that, barring some sporadic cases above referred to, the Anabaptists knew nothing of the rite of immersion, but re-baptized as they had been baptized in infancy.

With these facts before me I searched these ancient documents with deep interest, to find corroboration of the views above expressed. There was a large amount of material at hand. First of all I had here the martyrology of the Anabaptists, *Het Offer des Heeren.* The accounts of these martyrdoms are the more precious, as they contain a full report of the investigation before the Inquisition. And, in numerous cases, the question about the mode of baptism was asked, but no reference was ever made to immersion. A departure from the administration of the rite, as practiced by the Roman Catholic Church at that

[1] See also Champlin Burrage, *The Restoration of Immersion by the English Anabaptists and Baptists, 1640–1700.* Reprinted from the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. xvi., No. 1 (January, 1912).

time, would certainly have attracted the attention of the Inquisitor and must have called for an explanation. But of far greater importance in this regard are the theological treatises of Hoffman, Menno, Pastor, and especially Dirk Philips, in some of which we actually find chapters on *true and false baptism.* The rite of immersion is never so much as mentioned. The discussion always covers the field of pædo- and antipædobaptism.

It would seem to be definitely settled therefore that the change in the administration of baptism by the English Baptists was not an inheritance of the Anabaptist communion, but was introduced among them by those who had witnessed such administration among the Dutch Rhynsburgers or Collegiants, and has no warrant in the general faith or practice of the Anabaptist churches. As a matter of fact the Dutch Mennonites, who later on became very closely affiliated with the same Collegiants, never adopted the practice.

D. *Their views of the world and of life.* The *Doopsgezinden* and Anabaptists in general took a serious, almost an ascetic view of life. It seemed to them, as to the early Christians, a *militia Christi:* they were soldiers of the cross.

They separated Church and State, religion and politics, with a truly Donatistic fervor. Their faith was absolutely creedless and absolutely life-controlling. Their devotion and rigidity were almost monastic. Taking the Bible literally, they forbade the oath and all military service, their "yea" was "yea," their "nay" was "nay." Their celebration of the Supper was less a sacrament than a congregational festival, for the strengthening of their faith and of the practice of the Christian virtues. They cared little for theology, very much for the leavening of the whole social order with the righteousness of their scriptural beliefs. They refused to hold office or to participate in war, directly or indirectly; but they made the best of citizens: they

obeyed the magistrates implicitly, even if to their hurt. They helped the fatherland in the hour of its need, physically and financially, as they were able, so long as they were not asked to kill their fellow-men. The reaction from the Münster frenzy, in the later history of the Anabaptists, was absolute and unchanging.

The contents of the *Bibliotheca* fully explain the twelve articles of the Dutch Mennonites of 1639, in which a social program is laid down, which, generally applied and practiced, would revolutionize life. It is a picture of domestic and social duty, which shows how far-reaching were those Anabaptist ideals.

In them, even the holding of stock in an armed vessel is prohibited; an almost Quakerlike simplicity of dress and house-furnishings is recommended, and the relation between parents and children is ideally fixed. One may see at a glance, if the continual emigration of Anabaptists from Holland to England must be granted, how close is the evident relationship between them and many of the Nonconformist developments in Great Britain. We know they were continually crossing the Channel and flocks of them settled in some of the coastwise counties of England. The Independents and Puritans got from them the austerity and simplicity of their lives. The so-called "Cartwright principles" bear the earmarks of the Anabaptist spirit. The Quakers got from them their individualism, their peculiar views of the ministry, their horror of war, and their refusal of the oath. Congregationalism itself must have received its polity from the Anabaptist principle of the individual sovereignty of the local church. They formed an unquestionable leaven in the life of the Church and State of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Their church discipline was rigorous in the extreme. One cannot read Philips's tract On the Ban and Separation (*Ban ende Mydinghe*), and the other one On Christian Mar-

riage (*Van die Echt der Christenen*), without sensing the more than Puritanical austerity of the life of the *Doopsgezinden.* They were "Christians," the outside world was irreparably "lost." No papal encyclical against forbidden marriages, like the "Ne temere," was ever more rigorous than their refusal to countenance a marriage between one of themselves and an unbeliever. Only in case one was converted after marriage was cohabitation with an unbeliever tolerated, and then only in the hope of saving the other party. In all other cases it was immediately followed by the ban and expulsion. And in case of repentance and reconciliation, the Anabaptist was compelled to live the brotherly life with his unbelieving wife, or the reverse, even though the husband or wife they dearly loved, lived under the same roof. It was this decree of the ban which caused numerous schisms and divisions among the Anabaptists and which separated them into zealots or rigorists, on the one hand, and liberals on the other. In this regard the *Bibliotheca* is a veritable storehouse of information, and absolutely new information at that.

Numerous echoes of the Anabaptist literature are found in the liturgical writings of the Dutch Reformed Church. As we all know, this ritual, its prayers and offices for the sacraments, for the imposition of discipline, and for the reconciliation of disciplined members, has come to the Dutch Church largely through the hands of John à Lasco. In the norm at least it was his work, but he performed his labors in the Netherlands, or rather in East Frisia, in continuous stormy contact with the Anabaptists. Thus he became very familiar with their literature and well acquainted with their leaders. And thus these ritualistic writings in a way reflect this contact, either in a positive or negative way.

The Anabaptists or rather the *Doopsgezinden* in the Lowlands remained a separate people, ostracized by the

masses and persecuted by the government, till the very beginning of the modern era, till the very collapse of the Dutch Republic. The cause of this persecution lay, in the main, in their confirmed Anti-trinitarian and confused Christological views. And thus they never grew to be a large communion in the land, where they had suffered so much and so long. After the French Revolution, which did not pass them by unscathed, they were almost absorbed by the Remonstrant party, whose theology they eagerly embraced. But till this day they exist in the Netherlands, as a small but highly respected communion, on whose membership-roll appear some of the most brilliant names of past and present Dutch history, in all walks of life, especially in art, science, theology, and medicine.

Whosoever hereafter desires to study the beginnings of Baptist life will have to count with these ten volumes of the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica.* Personally I acknowledge my deepest indebtedness to the two great Dutch scholars, who, at so large a personal sacrifice, have enriched the world of Church History with these wonderful sources of information about the North European Anabaptists. To the living Dr. Pijper we render our homage; and on the grave of Dr. Cramer, who is asleep in Christ, the true friend, so long as he lived, of every lover of patient research, we reverently place a garland.

Adam Pastor, Antitrinitarian Antipædobaptist

By

Albert Henry Newman

ADAM PASTOR, ANTITRINITARIAN ANTIPÆDOBAPTIST

By Albert Henry Newman, Professor of Church History in Baylor University, Waco, Texas, and in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

(*Read December 28, 1914*)

THE intellectual, social, and religious upheaval of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of which the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolution were phases, along with the decidedly skeptical tendency of the Scotist philosophy which undermined the arguments by which the great mysteries of the Christian faith had commonly been supported while accepting unconditionally the dogmas of the Church—together with the influence of Neoplatonizing mysticism which aimed and claimed to raise its subjects into such direct and complete union and communion with the Infinite as to make any kind of objective authority superfluous:—all these influences conspired to lead many of the most conscientious and profoundly religious thinkers of the sixteenth century to reject simultaneously the baptism of infants and the traditional doctrine of the Trinity. Infant baptism they regarded as being without scriptural warrant, subversive of an ordinance of Christ, and inconsistent with regenerate church membership. Likewise the doctrine of the tripersonality of God, as set forth in the so-called Nicene and Athanasian creeds, involving the co-eternity, co-equality and consubstantiality of the Son with the Father

and the personality of the Holy Spirit, they subjected to searching and fundamental criticism.

Mr. F. C. Conybeare, in the scholarly introduction to his edition of the Armenian text with English translation of *The Key of Truth, a Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia* (Oxford, 1898), has sought to establish a genetic and historical relationship between the Adoptionism of the ancient and medieval Paulicians, whose Christology and antipædobaptism he regards as a perpetuation of a primitive type of Christianity widely diffused in the East and driven into dissent from the fifth century onward by the intolerance of the Græco-Catholic Church with its fully developed Christology and infant baptism, and the European dissenting bodies of the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, in which Adoptionist Christology and antipædobaptism were frequently combined. The relationship between Adoptionist Christology and insistence on believers' baptism, on the one hand, and Athanasian Christology and the practice of infant baptism, on the other, appears, he thinks, in the stress laid by the former on the baptism of Jesus when thirty years old with the divine declaration of his Sonship and his glorification and enduement with divine power and attributes, and the emphasis placed by the latter on the birth or incarnation of the eternally and personally preëxistent Logos (based upon interpretation of the prologue of the Fourth Gospel and passages in the Pauline epistles) and on infant baptism. Conybeare even goes so far as to suggest that modern Baptists are an anomaly in accepting orthodox Christology along with insistence on believers' baptism, the saving and glorifying efficacy of which they deny. Anomaly or no anomaly, it must be admitted that the combination has been efficient and successful.

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to attempt

to account for the fact that a large proportion of the Italian Humanists who came under the influence of German and Swiss Evangelicalism during the first half of the sixteenth century were unable permanently to sympathize with Luther's semi-Eutychian Christology and his insistence on infant baptism as a divinely appointed means of regeneration, or even with the Humanistic Zwingli and Œcolampadius. Most of them,—notwithstanding their strong desire to stand well with the German and Swiss reformers, and their manifest interest, as needy exiles, to harmonize with those who could protect and support them, were sooner or later detected in using language either expressly contradictory of current evangelical dogmas or in carefully guarding against committing themselves to the Athanasian Christology, which the politico-ecclesiastical reformers maintained with one accord, to Luther's and Calvin's necessitarianism and denial of human free will, and to Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone with his repudiation of good works as an essential concomitant. The names of Camillo Renato, Tiziano, Manelfi, Gribaldo, Biandrata, Valentino Gentilis, Celio Secundo Curio, Iseppo, Francesco Negri, Buzano, Lelio and Fausto Sozzini, Sebastiano, Castellio, and possibly Bernardino Ochino, may be here mentioned as representing this type of thought. Many of these rejected also the baptism of infants as without scriptural warrant, as needless and without saving efficacy, and as contradictory of their contention that religion is a matter between the individual conscious intelligent soul and God; while several went so far as to maintain that Jesus Christ was "man and not God," to teach the annihilation of the wicked (conditional immortality), to deny the existence of evil spirits outside of humanity and of hell as a place or state of punishment, and to maintain the justification of the elect through God's eternal mercy and love without the merit, blood, and death of

Christ.[1] With widely different formative influences and widely different underlying principles, Servetus, the Spanish physician, astrologer, theologian, and religious zealot, denied the eternity of Christ's sonship, which in his view originated in the incarnation, and rejected infant baptism as diabolical and abominable, while maintaining the absolute necessity of believers' baptism to salvation. Most of the early antipædobaptists of Switzerland, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands whose writings or confessions have been preserved show either by avoidance of orthodox trinitarian formulæ or by using language inconsistent therewith their tendency toward Arian or Adoptionist Christology.

Of the antitrinitarian antipædobaptists of the middle decades of the sixteenth century Adam Pastor was among the most learned, the most scriptural, the most logical, and the most devout. Dr. F. Pijper of Leyden, editor of the new edition of his work to be hereafter more particularly described, characterizes his exegesis or insight into the Bible as sound, honorable, and unprejudiced in a degree rarely met in the sixteenth century, as, though learned, absolutely free from the slightest suggestion of scholasticism and dogmatism, as well as from sharpness and arrogance in polemics, as warm and devotional as well as vital, fresh, and original in thought. According to Gerardus Nicolai[2] his original name was Rudolf Martens, which he changed, as was customary at the time in adopting a new form of religion or a new profession, to that by which he is commonly known. He was born at Dorpen in Westphalia. The date of his birth is unknown, but may have been about

[1] See K. Benrath, *Wiedertäufer im Venetianischen um die Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1885; also my *Anti-Pedobaptism*, pp. 323–339.

[2] *Inlasschingen in het vertaalde Werk van Bullinger: "Tegens de Wederdoopers,"* Emden, 1569, reprinted in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, vol. vii.

1510 or somewhat earlier. From his familiarity with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and his skill in employing these in biblical exegesis, as well as from his adoption of a vocational name, we may perhaps infer that he was educated for the priesthood and under humanistic influence; though there is little in his writings to suggest fondness for classical literature or distinctively humanistic modes of thought.

It may be worth while to recall that this Westphalian region as well as the adjoining portions of the Netherlands and of France was the scene of the successful activities of evangelical dissenters in the thirteenth century, who are reported to have been "instructed in the Holy Scriptures, which they possessed in a Teutonic translation," and some are said to have "repeated baptism" and some not to have "believed in the Lord's body," or to have rejected the Roman Catholic transubstantiation theory of the Supper. In the city of Trier the *Gesta Treverorum* report there had been three schools (congregations) of heretics. Here also flourished during the later medieval time the Brethren of the Common Life, with their evangelically controlled humanistic educational work, their earnest study of the Scriptures, and their philanthropic activities. Cologne in the early years of the Protestant Revolution was a chief resort for all sorts of free religionists and has been designated the "mother city of medieval heresies." Gerhard Westerburg, a disciple of the millenarian enthusiast Nicolas Storch and a brother-in-law of Carlstadt, was an industrious disseminator of radical views in Cologne and the surrounding regions, the Roman Catholic doctrines of purgatory, prayers for the dead, transubstantiation, and infant baptism being special objects of his oral and written polemics (1522–34). It is a well-known fact that the influence of Erasmus was particularly great in the lower Rhenish regions of Germany and in the Netherlands and that in 1532, in response to a widespread demand for reform (Lutheran, Zwinglian, and

Anabaptist), Duke John III of Cleves inaugurated a scheme of church reformation of which Erasmus was supposed to be the author. While John's *Declaration* is careful not to disown the authority of the Roman hierarchy, the existing practices of the Church are allowed to be open to criticism. Ministers are required to discard legends and examples of the saints and to restrict their preaching to the gospel of the Old and New Testaments, not to rely upon tradition, and to explain obscure passages by such as are clear. Faith is declared to be no lightly held opinion, but a clinging with full assurance to everything that the Scriptures teach and a firm and vital trust in the divine mercy which Christ has made available for us. The Mass is transformed into the Holy Supper. Private confession is admitted to be wholesome but not necessary. Steps were taken by Duke John for the suppression of conventicles of "sects," which abounded. These proceedings brought into greater publicity the labors of a group of able and well educated ministers, known in history as "the Wassenberg preachers," who passed from humanistic Catholicism to Lutheranism, from this to Zwinglianism, from this to antipædobaptism, and from this to the millenarian fanaticism of the Münster Kingdom. They included Heinrich Roll, Dionysius Vinne, Hermann Staprade, and Heinrich Schlatscaef. Closely associated with these was Johann Campanus, who adopted antitrinitarian views.

The influence of Erasmus on the antipædobaptist and antitrinitarian movements of the sixteenth century has not, in general, been sufficiently recognized. Dr. Karl Rembert[1] has, in the present writer's opinion, placed the matter in its proper light. Erasmus's enthusiastic advocacy of freedom of thought and of discussion provoked much hostile comment, Catholic and Protestant. "Wherever you come upon what is true, this regard as Christian" was a maxim

[1] *Die "Wiedertäufer" im Herzogtum Jülich*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 22 ff.

of his too advanced for his age and not yet sufficiently heeded. His insistence that the people of all classes read the Scriptures in their mother tongues and the stress he laid upon the study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures and the use of the grammatico-historical method by the learned in seeking to know precisely what the Scriptures were meant to teach, his contempt for mere forms and ceremonies and insistence on genuine Christian character as the only thing that avails, his exposure of the cynicism and hypocrisy of clergy and monks of the average quality, his maintenance of human free agency and responsibility over against the extreme assertions of Divine arbitrariness and slavery of the human will set forth by some of the reformers, his denial of the magical efficacy of baptism and the Lord's Supper, his small respect for formulated creeds and scholastic doctrinal definitions and distinctions, encouraged many braver and more conscientious men to repudiate utterly the hopelessly corrupt Roman Catholic hierarchical system, as well as the Protestant State Church systems that seemed to them to fall short of evangelical simplicity and purity, and to strive to work out for themselves with the Scriptures (especially the New Testament) as their sole authority a system of doctrine and practice that should conform to apostolic precept and example.

The widespread propaganda of the millenarian antipædobaptist enthusiasm of Melchior Hoffman and his associates terminated in the fearful tragedy of the Münster Kingdom. The subsequent reorganization of the quiet Anabaptists under the leadership of Menno Simons, Dirk and Obbe Philips, Gillis of Aachen, and Leonard Bouwens, within a few years (1536 onward) won tens of thousands of converts throughout the Netherlands and the adjoining regions, and gave these converts a compact organization, with rigorous discipline and carefully defined principles. Both these

movements preceded the emergence of Adam Pastor into public notice.

With such antecedents it should occasion no surprise to find this learned and deep-thinking Westphalian an elder in Menno's great antipædobaptist organization in 1546 or to find his independent mind revolting against the dogmatism of Menno and Dirk Philips and devoting itself to a refutation by a more learned exegesis than they could command of the Scriptures which he and they alike regarded as absolutely authoritative. There seems to be no intimation in the sources that have become available as to the date of Adam Pastor's entrance into Menno's fellowship. Somewhere about 1543 he was ordained by Menno and Dirk Philips as an elder (bishop or general missionary) and it is reasonable to infer that he had previously been long enough among the Mennonites to gain the full confidence of the leaders, with whom for a time he heartily coöperated in their polemics against the pantheistic libertinism of David Joris which was causing much trouble in antipædobaptist circles. About 1546 he came into controversy with Menno and Dirk Philips with respect to the deity of Christ (involving the personality of the Logos and the eternal sonship of Christ), the personality of the Holy Spirit, and the true humanity of Jesus Christ. After much disputation oral and written Adam Pastor was excommunicated by Dirk Philips, with Menno's approval, in 1547. Several of the antipædobaptist congregations sided with Adam Pastor and from this time onward he was looked upon as the head of an Anabaptist sect sometimes called Adam-Pastorians or Adamites. Several of these congregations persisted till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when a large proportion of the Mennonites under Socinian influence became antitrinitarian in sentiment and indisposed to contend for Menno's doctrine of the incarnation. Johannes Anastasius in 1554 places Pastor side by side with Menno as

the head of an Anabaptist party. A year later Cassander wrote: "Two outstanding leaders of the Anabaptists to-day, Menno Simon and Adam Pastor, are as it were in a state of civil warfare with each other." But it was by literary activity more than by oral propagandism that Adam Pastor made his influence felt.

So far as is known the only extant writing of Adam Pastor is his *Underscheit tusschen rechte unde valsche leer der twistigen articulen, de hyr vor angetekent syn: dorch A.P.* The title-page contains further an extract from Solomon's prayer (1 Kings 3:9) and the passage prohibiting the drinking of wine when going into the tent of meeting as a necessary condition of ability rightly to discern between holy and common, unclean and clean (Leviticus 10:8–11). There is no indication of date or place of publication on the title-page; but the date of the completion of the work is fixed at 1552, by a statement that five years have elapsed since his disputation with Dirk Philips at Emden and his excommunication, and it was probably printed in that year. The *Underscheit* occupies one hundred and fifty-six large octavo pages in the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica.* This is followed by a *Disputation on the Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,* which covers sixty-six pages more.[1]

The *Underscheit* begins with a table of contents in which the thirteen items of difference between right doctrine and false doctrine are specified and mention is made of the disputation on the deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit held with Menno and his supporters at Lübeck.

The thirteen points of difference in the *Underscheit* are the doctrines respecting God, the incarnation of Jesus

[1] The copy of the *Underscheit* from which Dr. Pijper derives his text is the only one known to be extant. It was discovered about eighty years ago by Dr. A. M. Cramer in the Mennonite Library at Amsterdam and was used by him in his life of Menno (1837). More recently it was examined by De Hoop Scheffer and Karl Rembert. The language is the Low Dutch of the time.

Christ, atonement, forgiveness and salvation, mediation and intercession, the time of grace, God-sent and self-running preachers, repentance, faith, baptism, the Supper, human institutions and divine institutions, true and false brethren, and true and false books. This is followed by a *Humble Supplication* to Emperor, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Counts, and all who occupy positions of authority, judicial or administrative, for absolute liberty of conscience without reference to the truth or the falsity of the doctrines taught. It would be interesting to quote somewhat at large from the eight pages of the *Supplication*, crammed as they are with quotations from the Old and New Testaments with appropriate comments. He calls attention to the fact that true Christians are called in Scripture not wolves but sheep and lambs. Even on the supposition that those refusing to conform to the State religion are wolves and the magistrates are sheep, "a sheep never bites a wolf." It is doubtful whether Roger Williams, nearly a hundred years later, presented the Scriptural argument for liberty of conscience more clearly than we have it in the work before us. Much stress is laid upon the accountability of each individual to God alone for what he believes and teaches and the incompetence of any man to sit in judgment on the religious convictions of another. Compulsory conformity leads to hypocrisy which is an abomination in the eyes of God. Those who persecute true Christians are persecuting Christ himself. He quotes from the early Church Fathers to show how far early Christians were from the intolerance practiced by Roman Catholic and Protestant authorities. If God wants people punished in the present life for erroneous teaching and worship he can administer the punishment himself without human aid.

In the section on the true doctrine respecting God, Adam Pastor makes an almost exhaustive array of the Scriptures that teach the oneness and soleness of God and of those in which Jesus Christ is distinguished from God.

In this it seems to me he performs a work of supererogation, as none of his opponents, Romanist, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Mennonite, called this doctrine in question. His chief interest no doubt lay in the exhibition of New Testament passages in which this one only God seems to be distinguished from Jesus Christ, such as John 17: 3, "This is eternal life, that they should know thee the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ"; 1 Cor. 8: 6, "There is one God, of whom are all things, and we unto him, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him." With like intent he quotes 1 Tim. 2: 5, Acts 17: 24 sq., and similar passages. He does not formally draw the inference that the orthodox trinitarianism is tritheism and that to accept and to worship Jesus Christ as God is idolatrous; but this he clearly intends to teach. Like Arius of old he had no sense for metaphysics in its application to the Godhead and was content with this form of argument: If Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are in any sense distinct personalities and each is absolutely divine, there must be three co-equal, co-eternal, and consubstantial Gods; if, as he insisted and supposed the Scriptures to teach, there is and can be only one God, then Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit cannot be regarded as divine personalities in the same sense as the Father or the Supreme Being.

In the section on the incarnation he combats the theory of the incarnation set forth by Melchior Hoffman and with slight modifications promulgated and insisted upon by Menno and his associates, that the flesh or humanity of Christ was not derived from Mary, but was wholly divine. This recrudescence of the old Eutychian view that Christ's body was a "human body" but not "the body of a man" and was different in essence from the Adamic humanity is one of the features most difficult to account for in the teachings of Hoffman and Menno alike. Of course the aim in every case was to glorify Christ by making his human body

absolutely divine and free from hereditary sin. Adam Pastor is at unnecessary pains to prove physiologically and scripturally that children derive their flesh not from the father alone but from father and mother. He claims that if it were otherwise in the case of the flesh of the child Jesus only Scripture could establish the difference, and inasmuch as Scripture teaches that the generation of Jesus differed from that of others in that he was begotten by the Holy Spirit, if it had been intended to teach that the maternal nature had no real part in the conception and development of his flesh, we might expect to find explicit Scripture teaching to this effect. Such teaching is not to be found. Pastor quotes abundant Scripture to show that the production of Jesus after the conception was on the maternal side normal and human. John's statement, "The Word became flesh," means, in his opinion, that Mary conceived and brought forth the flesh of Christ "through the working of the power of the Most High," and not "through the power and working of man." He states the view of Menno, which does not differ materially from the old Eutychian, and points out the absurdity of the belief that the eternal Logos conceived of as a person and the creator of all things should have been changed into flesh, that the Creator should have been nourished and supported by his creature and should have died as a mortal man, which would be equivalent to saying that he was at the same time an immortal God and a mortal God. Such representations he declares to be dishonoring to God. If God who made heavens and earth had died his creation would have been suddenly wrecked; and if the Creator had died what power could have called him back to life? He asks his readers whether they will believe Menno or not rather the Scripture which says of the Creator, that he alone hath immortality. He presents superabundant proof from Old Testament prophecy and New Testament history that Jesus Christ was of the seed of Abraham

and of David through Mary. He points out that Paul understood God's promise to Abraham that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed to have been fulfilled in Christ the seed. Who should be believed, Menno or God? He cites also Paul's application to Christ of the prophecy of the rod that shall go forth from the stem of Jesse and the twig from his root. Menno's thought was that if Christ had derived his flesh from the corrupted Adamic flesh of Mary he could not have worked redemption for sinful man. Adam Pastor maintains that the innocent Word and Godlike nature purged away the racial sin and made Jesus sinless. He quotes New Testament Scriptures to show that God was in Christ, that the Father abode in him. He skillfully sets aside Menno's contention that if Jesus had been really born of a woman he would have been less than John the Baptist, to whom Jesus gave the foremost place among those born of women, and yet claimed superiority for himself. He also shows the absurdity of Menno's claim that Christ would be inferior to Melchisedek, who is said to have been without father or mother, if he had had a woman for his real mother, as well as his use of Christ's saying in John vi. that his flesh is the bread that came down out of Heaven. Christ did not mean that they should literally eat his body any more than Paul speaks literally when he says that believers are members of Christ's body means that we are members of his flesh and his bones. In refuting Menno's theory that the flesh of Christ was of heavenly origin and not a product of Mary's body Adam Pastor cannot refrain from bringing in continually his objection to the orthodox view of the deity of Christ. Here he insists that the person in whom the whole fulness of the Godhead dwelt must be different from the indwelling Godhead. He maintains that the divine declaration "I live eternally" excludes any possibility that anything of God, even his Word, should die; and that if God's Word were

changed into flesh, God's Word would have become mortal, which is of necessity immortal. Again, if Christ Jesus were personally God's Word according to the flesh, he would not have been the Messiah, *i. e.*, the anointed one. There would have been no need to anoint with the Holy Spirit and endue with power one already and eternally possessed in his own right of infinite power. Being supremely holy, anointing could not make him holier.

The third section treats of the difference between the true reconciler, redeemer, saviour, or ransomer from sin and the false reconciler and redeemer. Having quoted many passages from the gospels and epistles regarding Christ's redemptive and saving work he concludes that Christ Jesus is the only redeemer and that all other redeemers or proposed means of salvation (as masses, vigils, and churchly ceremonies of all kinds) are false and ineffective. Singing and reading and going on pilgrimages cannot compete with Jesus, who gave his body and blood. The universality of Christ's redemptive work excludes the work of any other. He insists further, that God will judge us as we are and are found before death and proves by the Scriptures that the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory is without foundation. In conclusion he exhorts his readers to make sure of their salvation in this present life by trusting in and abiding with the Eternal Redeemer, who is Jesus Christ.

The fourth section treats of the difference between the true mediator and advocate and false mediators and advocates. He quotes Paul's declaration that "there is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," and John's assurance, "if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous one." These and other Scriptures seem to him to exclude all effective intercession of Mary, angels, departed saints, or priests.

In the fifth section Adam Pastor discusses the difference between the true and false doctrine of the time of grace.

He quotes Old Testament prophecies regarding the time of the outpouring of God's Spirit and the opening wide to the world the way of salvation, which he finds fulfilled in Christ, the Messiah. He quotes abundantly from the New Testament to the effect that now is the accepted time, the day of salvation. He insists, against those who claimed that the day of divine grace had ended and that a catastrophic day of vengeance was at hand, that the gospel of Jesus Christ is still effective for all that believe and are baptized and who walk in newness of life in Christ Jesus; that God is ready to forgive every sinner that repents.

In the sixth section he points out the difference between preachers sent by God and such as run of themselves. He calls attention to the true and false prophets in the Old Testament time and insists that true prophets were so filled with the spirit of God that all selfish and human considerations were eliminated and they were able to speak God's pure truth to their contemporaries. Christ was sent by his Father. He in turn sent forth the Apostles. They in turn ordained and sent forth those who were like-minded and were called by God and qualified for the proclamation of the gospel. True preachers are those who preach what their sender commissions them to preach and nothing else. He takes Jesus' statement of his own mission in John v. and vii. as applicable to Christian preachers, where he speaks of having come in the name of his Father and been rejected by those who will receive another who shall come in his own name. And again: "He that speaketh from himself seeketh his own glory: but he that seeketh the glory of him that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him." As holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, so should the Christian preacher. As with Moses and Aaron God will be with his preachers' mouths and put in them the right words. God puts a fire into the very bones of his preachers, so that even worldly tyranny

cannot restrain them. He finds in Paul a model preacher. It is not necessary that God-sent and spirit-endued preachers should be able to confirm their divine call through miracles as some insist. Neither Noah nor John the Baptist wrought miracles and miracles are not to be expected in post-apostolic times. He quotes largely from the qualifications of Christian ministers set forth in the pastoral epistles. Christ sent forth his disciples as the Father sent him. Christ Jesus was not sent for the milk and wool of the flock or to seek an exalted position, but to seek the lost sheep of the house of Israel. For this reason Christ became poor. Freely ye have received, he says, freely give. He commanded his disciples not to possess gold or silver. They were to leave their nets and become fishers of men. He describes at length self-running, false preachers, applying to those of his own time all the reproachful language of the Old Testament and the New, and, without calling them by name, evidently means to include in this designation not only Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed ministers, but also Menno Simons and his associates, David Joris, and all who were not in substantial accord with himself. He refutes those who, in view of the fact that God has used evil men and even Balaam's ass as instruments of his will, insist that very imperfect and even unworthy men may preach with some effect and may be heard with profit,—by denying that Balaam and his ass prophesied to the people of God. Balaam prophesied to the heathen king and the ass reproached the false prophet himself. He does not think that Paul's rejoicing in the preaching of Christ even by those that did it of contention with a view to giving annoyance to himself is a sufficient reason for encouraging unworthy men in the ministry. In answer to the contention of some, that even the devil may preach God's word and so may be properly heard, Pastor remarks laconically: "I do not want the devil for my preacher." Paul in rejoicing that Christ

was being preached by unworthy men did not advise Christians to go to hear them. He deals with the case of Judas Iscariot; answering the question whether it was proper to hear him preach when he was among Christ's disciples, he says there is no evidence that he was a thief and a traitor when he was preaching the gospel.

Naturally he has the utmost confidence in his own divine commission and in the absolute truth of what he teaches, and he exhorts his readers to abstain from reading what he has written if they can find even half a word in all his writings that cannot stand before God. Evidently Adam Pastor was a man of conviction, regarding himself as divinely appointed for the overthrow of all erroneous forms of Christianity and for the setting forth of absolute truth.

In the seventh section on true and false repentance or penitence he discusses the corresponding words in Greek and Hebrew and insists on heartfelt sorrow for sin and a turning away from it in obedience to the will of God, as essential. He directs his polemics chiefly against the Roman Catholic doctrine and practice, with its priestly absolution, resting on the power of the keys bestowed upon Peter and his successors to secure the binding and loosing of souls on earth and in heaven. The only way in which any man can bind or loose is to have such spiritual discernment as to know the mind of God and the condition of the soul of the penitent. No man can forgive sin, who has not the Holy Spirit and whose own sins are not forgiven. It is a false binding to kill or banish. The only penalty Christ approves is exclusion from fellowship and treating impenitent sinners as heathen and publicans.

In his eighth section Pastor contrasts true and false views of faith, regeneration, and churches. These three he includes in one. Where the right true faith is, there also is the new birth from God, and where the new birth is there is also the true Church. It would be difficult to find

in the literature of the sixteenth century a better discussion of faith. He quotes largely from the Pauline epistles and other books of the New Testament to show that faith is far more than intellectual assent to a proposition. With a heartfelt realization of his sinfulness, of which death is the penalty, and despair of deliverance by any act of his own, the sinner believes in God's promise of salvation in Christ Jesus, yields himself up to the will of God and to the lordship of Christ, and is born from above or regenerated by the inner working of the Spirit of God. We must become trustful and obedient as little children if we would enter into the kingdom of heaven. True faith results in the carnally minded becoming spiritually minded with a persistent striving against sin. True believers have died to sin, have the spirit of Christ, have the mind of Christ, are children of God, and have eternal life. The true believer does not indulge in doubt respecting any words of God, as if what is written might be true or might not. He refers to Paul's enumeration of the fruits of the Spirit and the fruits of the flesh with entire approval. All who have not this transforming, spiritualizing faith are not only outside the kingdom of heaven, but shall have their part in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone. Christ prayed that all believers might be one even as he and his Father were one and he said that his Father always heard his prayer. Christ has promised to keep true believers so that no one can pluck them out of his hand. The expression "born of water and spirit" he interprets in the sense that the water is the living water of which Christ spoke that comes down from heaven and that flows in rivers from believers and is intended to describe the inner cleansing wrought by the Holy Spirit in the human soul, and not the water of baptism. His conception of faith and regeneration excludes baptismal regeneration for either infants or adults.

Such believers, sanctified and purified, sons of God, heirs

of God and joint heirs with Christ, constitute the true Church, the bride of Christ. Here again Pastor quotes the Scriptures copiously to show that the highest degree of purity, fidelity, spirituality, and devotion to the service of God are essential to Church membership.

The ninth section on baptism is by far the longest. After quoting the Great Commission in both its forms and nearly all the New Testament passages bearing upon baptism he begins his discussion: "From all these it is manifest that baptism is applicable to none but believers, since baptism was instituted for none but disciples of Christ who are instructed in the faith of Christ and accept it; and how can one be baptized in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit when he has not heard thereof?" The inapplicability of baptism to infants he illustrates by a supposed case in which a Christian should come upon a sleeping Jew and baptize him with the use of the appropriate words. Would this, he asks, be baptism in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit? It would be rather taking the name of God in vain. Then follows a dialogue between "Pastor," who maintains the antipædobaptist position, and "Abel," representing his pædobaptist opponents. The usual and familiar arguments on both sides are stated and urged with great exhaustiveness and skill, "Pastor," of course, being throughout triumphant. He thinks the baptism of infants years before they can exercise the faith on which it depends is as much out of place as it would have been if Christ had taken the bread and given it to his disciples and told them to eat it ten years afterward. The arguments on both sides of the question are presented as fully and strongly as could be desired, free use being made of Hebrew and Greek in the exegesis of the biblical passages bearing upon the matter and of the patristic literature. No modern discussion of this sort with which the present writer is familiar handles the matter anything like so ably and exhaustively. Adam Pastor's

wide experience as Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Anabaptist, in which each transition had been made no doubt after a hard struggle, profound study, and the attainment of strong conviction, gave him extraordinary qualifications for a discussion of this sort, and that his scholarship was ample and his logical acumen rare is manifest in every paragraph.

In the tenth section he discusses with almost equal exhaustiveness the true and false doctrines of the Lord's Supper. After quoting the pertinent texts he remarks: "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul concur in saying that he took the bread. They also write that it was in the days of unleavened bread, from which we may understand that it was not leavened but unleavened bread." He claims there is no Scripture for the use of the wafer or host with a picture of the cross such as Roman Catholics use, the use of the picture with idolatrous intent being in his opinion a distinct violation of God's commandments (Exodus 20: 4; Deut. 5: 8). Pastor discusses the different expressions in the several accounts of the institution regarding Christ's blessing and thanksgiving. All the accounts agree that Jesus broke the bread. He seems to think it important that one loaf should be so divided that each may have a portion. The breaking of the bread is to call to remembrance the broken body of Christ. He lays stress on the fact that the disciples of Christ and they alone, sons of God, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, are entitled to participate. He who eats or drinks unworthily becomes guilty respecting Christ's body and blood and brings judgment upon himself, not discerning the Lord's body. He deals exhaustively with New Testament restrictions regarding participation in the Supper. With equal exhaustiveness he deals with the cup and wine. He thinks the cup was a common earthenware cup or mug and not glass or gold. He lays stress on one cup as against a separate cup for priests and laymen. He insists

on the wine as symbolizing the blood of Christ as against the Romanist transubstantiation. He contrasts in detail the Romanist celebration of the Mass with the Lord's Supper as regards ceremonies, administration, subjects, and intention. Many of his strictures on current doctrine and practice were no doubt aimed at Protestants as well as at Roman Catholics.

The eleventh section treats of the difference between God's laws or institutions and human institutions. He shows that Moses and Christ agree in making love to God the supreme duty and loving one's neighbor as one's self as the supplement of the law supreme. Of Christ God said, "This is my beloved Son, hear him." Marriage is an institution of the Old Testament, commended by Christ. Monks and nuns set it at naught. Monks, popes, etc., forbid the eating of certain foods on certain days, without the authority of Christ. Christ laid his hands upon children. Priests practice confirmation and baptize children. Christ bade his disciples to lay their hands on the sick for their healing and they anointed with oil many sick so that they were made well. Priests use oil for blessing and not for healing. The Scriptures teach us to confess our sins to one another and to the Lord; now auricular confession to the priest is insisted upon with its false, man-invented penance. Christ says: "What God has joined together let not man put asunder." According to human institutions people may well put asunder what the priest has not joined together (referring possibly to the papal attitude toward unions not blessed by a priest). Among human institutions Pastor further mentions the use of holy water, salt and palms, masses for souls, vigils and other acts on behalf of the dead, temples, etc.

In the twelfth section of his *Underscheit* Pastor points out the differences between the teaching of true brethren and that of false brethren. By the false brethren he seems

to mean those who have perpetuated the ideas of the Münster Kingdom; their leader was Batenburg. Among the false teachings enumerated are that of a King David and of a kingdom upon earth, of a plurality of wives or women, and the like. He insists upon the spirituality of the kingdom of Christ and utterly repudiates millenarianism with all its accompanying horrors. Pastor makes a brave attempt to prove that monogamy is an Old Testament institution as well as a New, and to explain or explain away the numerous departures from this practice on the part of Old Testament worthies.

The thirteenth and last section treats of the difference between true and false books, or the canon of Scripture. He accepts the entire Hebrew canon and the entire New Testament as we have it, repudiating the apocryphal books and parts of books contained in the Greek (Septuagint) version and not in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. His view of inspiration seems to have been of the highest and strictest.

As a supplement to his *Underscheit* Adam Pastor published an account of his oral and written disputation with Menno and his associates on the deity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He begins with an invocation: "May the only eternal, everlasting God, wonderful in his works and immovable in his judgments, increase in all hungering souls his holy pure knowledge through his dear Son Jesus Christ, the only Mediator between his Father and corrupted men, since a right knowledge of him and his Son is eternal life."

The discussion is too long to be outlined here. We have already noticed Pastor's rigorous insistence on the oneness of God and his refusal to admit the validity of the metaphysical distinctions of the Nicene theology in which by a theory of eternal generation and eternal procession the three persons of the Godhead could be represented as co-equal, co-eternal, and consubstantial without a sacrifice of the principle of

divine unity. We have also seen how exalted a place he gives to Jesus Christ as Son of God, supreme authority in religious matters, saviour, mediator, and intercessor. He gloried in the fact that all power (not omnipotence) has been given unto Christ in heaven and on earth; but he insisted on the fact that the power was *given* to him and not his from eternity. He was willing to accept every New Testament ascription of glory and honor to the Saviour; but he insisted that no one of them rightly interpreted implies original, independent, eternal deity. He complains that he was excommunicated by Dirk Philips and Menno for confessing that the Father alone is true God and that Jesus Christ is the one whom he has sent. Paul says: "If thou confessest with thy mouth the Lord Jesus and believest in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Pastor claims to believe this and thus to fulfill Paul's condition for salvation; yet Menno and his associates consign him to damnation. John says: "Everyone who confesses that Jesus is God's Son, God abides in him and he in God," and again: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is God's Son is born of God." Pastor claims to be born of God and to abide in God according to these Scriptures and denies the divine right of Menno to refuse him fellowship. Paul says: "There is one God and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." Pastor claims to be in complete agreement with Paul. He quotes several pages of Christ's own words to show that he recognized God, his Father, as above and distinct from himself. All these words Pastor heartily accepts and when his opponents reply that all these are from the humanity of Christ, he agrees with them and claims that if they would be consistent they would admit that the whole body of Christ that died on the cross and that lay dead in the grave is not God. If they had admitted this, there would have been no controversy between them and him. He insists upon the

true humanity of the soul and spirit of Christ as well as the body. When Christ prayed and gave thanks, it was his soul that did it, and into his Father's hands he commended his spirit. He charges his opponents with making the humanity of Christ to be also the deity of Christ and so with making void not only his true humanity, but also his true deity. Pastor's view of the matter, briefly stated, seems to be that Christ Jesus was divinely generated in Mary by the Logos or Spirit of God, which terms simply designate God putting forth his energy in creation, in the government of the universe, in enlightening mankind, in revealing truth, in generating the Messiah, in the conversion and regeneration of human souls, etc. He denied the personality of the Spirit as he denied the personality of the Logos or Word. In the *Disputation* he argues with Menno and his associates at great length the question of the personality of the Spirit, seeking by exegesis to account for all the Scripture representations that Menno and orthodox theologians in general understood to imply such personality. "The Holy Spirit is no other than the Father's spirit, breath, breathing of his mouth. . . . So also was Christ begotten by no one but the Father himself. Therefore is he then truly called God's Son, since his Spirit is no other than himself."

He concludes with the prayer: "God grant to us his divine inbreathing or induement, in order that we may be of one heart and one mind with him. Amen."

It would be difficult to find in all literature a more profoundly earnest, sweet-tempered, reverent, comprehensive, logical, and keenly critical polemic against the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity than that of Pastor. His heterodoxy resulted not from any aversion toward the supernatural. No one believed more heartily in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures or in the miracles of the Old Testament and of the New. No one had a profounder conviction as to the

absolute authority of Christ and the indispensableness of his atoning work to human salvation. He gloried in the belief that all power has been given to him in heaven and on earth. But to regard Christ as co-equal, co-eternal, and consubstantial with God was in his opinion to deny the oneness and soleness of God, and to worship him as God was to be guilty of idolatry.

The Work of Some Recent English Church Historians, with Special Reference to the Labors of the Late Henry Melville Gwatkin

By

Frederick John Foakes Jackson

THE WORK OF SOME RECENT ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORIANS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LABORS OF THE LATE HENRY MELVILLE GWATKIN

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EVEN though in the field of Church History comparatively little has been done in England in the present century, I do not think that a catalogue of authors and their works would be particularly illuminating. I have decided therefore to limit my remarks by confining them to historians with whom I happen to have been personally acquainted, hoping thereby to give a little human interest to a topic which might otherwise be somewhat dull, unless treated at a length inordinate for a single paper.

Lightfoot and Stubbs. The two modern pioneers of church history in England are both Anglican bishops, one from Cambridge, the other from Oxford. I regret to say that I only knew Bishop Lightfoot from a respectful distance, and I had no personal acquaintance with Bishop Stubbs. They are, however, so typical of two widely different schools, and at the same time so characteristically English, that I cannot refrain from a passing allusion to them.

That great scholar, statesman, and divine, Dr. Chalmers, was once asked his opinion of the scandalously large income

of the prince-bishopric of Durham, and replied that the whole of the revenue received by the occupants of the See was a cheap price for securing Bishop Butler of the *Analogy*. I think that he would have said the same of Joseph Barber Lightfoot, had he been his contemporary; though Lightfoot never enjoyed the vast revenues of his predecessors. I need not enumerate the works which have made his world-wide reputation. It is sufficient to say that he was the first English commentator to treat the New Testament as an historical document. A brilliant classical scholar, he did not regard St. Paul, as some of his predecessors had done, as an inspired author who wrote bad Greek; but as a man who had something to say in a language which suited his time and his correspondents. The commentary on Galatians literally paved the way for English writers on early ecclesiastical history, and his *Ignatius* and his two posthumous volumes on *Clement of Rome* more than justified the promise of his first commentary.

Among my greatest treasures is a letter I received from Lightfoot, when in 1880 I won the scholarship he had recently founded in ecclesiastical history at Cambridge. This munificent benefaction has been a valuable stimulus to the study of the subject, and has been scarcely ever gained by a man who has taken theology, but, almost invariably, by the best historian of his year. It has therefore had the effect of turning many, who might otherwise have confined themselves to purely secular history, to the important subject of the study of religious ideas. In his letter to me Lightfoot said that the best requital I could make him was to make some historical study my own and to write upon it —ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, to quote his favorite epistle.

William Stubbs was no bad counterpart to his Cambridge colleague in the robustness of his intellect and the simplicity of his character. They were both loveable men. Light-

foot's charm lay in a sort of joyous innocence, combined with the very highest qualities of intellect and character; Stubbs's in his genial wit revealing his contempt of the hypocrisies of his age. The style of both, simple, direct, and lucid, is expressive of their minds. Of Stubbs's work I need say no more here than that, whilst Lightfoot made the early Church his peculiar study, Stubbs's efforts were directed towards that of his own nation.[1]

Mandell Creighton and Lord Acton. Another Anglican bishop of a younger generation was Creighton, who was educated at Oxford, but did his most important work as an historical teacher at Cambridge. He was followed, though not in the same chair, by a Roman Catholic nobleman, who had been educated in Germany rather than England, and who eclipsed him in erudition if not in production. Lord Acton's name will be always connected with Döllinger's, but his work bore fruit in his own country in a very remarkable way.

Creighton, after a brilliant career at Oxford, was elected a Fellow of Merton College, then one of the most liberal

[1] Lightfoot published his commentaries as Hulsean Professor at Cambridge, Galatians (1865), Philippians (1868), Colossians (1875). He was made Lady Margaret Professor in 1875. His papers in answer to the anonymous publication of *Supernatural Religion* appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, 1874–1877. These articles came out in book form in 1889. He contributed to Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* and to Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. In the latter his article on "Eusebius of Cæsarea" is, I think, especially valuable. His great work on the Ignatian Epistles in his editions of the *Apostolic Fathers* appeared in 1885, when he was Bishop of Durham. He died in 1889. For the wealth and power of the old Bishops of Durham see *The County Palatine of Durham*, Harvard Historical Studies, No. viii, by G. T. Lapsley. This author has long been a most successful teacher of History as a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Stubbs was Bishop of Chester, 1884–1889, when he was translated to Oxford. His great fame must always rest on his *Constitutional History*, but his lectures on *Medieval and Modern History*, which Archdeacon Hutton in his article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* says "were thinly attended" at Oxford, are also of the highest interest.—W. H. Hutton has edited the *Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, 1825–1901*. (London, 1904.)

in the University. Among his contemporaries were Dr. Knox, now bishop of Manchester, and Mr. Cruttwell, a most retiring but cultivated classical scholar, whose *Early Christian Literature* entitles him to a place among English church historians. Creighton was, as Mrs. Creighton tells us in her admirable biography of her husband, led to resolve to be a writer of history, by having to examine the work of a scholar who had spent his life collecting materials in the Bodleian Library and left nothing which could possibly be published.[1] In 1872 he accepted the living of Embleton, a lonely parish in Northumberland, where he worked at his *History of the Papacy*, the later volumes of which are, if I may say so, to me a model of literary art and arrangement. In 1884 he was elected to the newly appointed chair of Ecclesiastical History (the Dixie Professorship), which carried with it a Fellowship at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and from him began the impulse which led to the foundation of the modern Cambridge historical school. Among his most brilliant pupils were George Townsend Warner of Jesus College, who was appointed just before his decease one of the official historians of the present war; Dr. Whitney, the editor of the *Cambridge Medieval History;* Dr. Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar; Dr. Figgis, and Miss Mary Bateson. In 1891, he was appointed bishop of Peterborough, where he found leisure to continue his historical studies; and in 1897 he was translated to London, where his devotion to his work and his anxiety to fill all the functions of his high office hastened his end. Few men possessed greater activity of mind or displayed it in a more versatile way. The playfulness of his humour and the wit,

[1] *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, by his wife (1904), ch. vii., p. 186. Creighton was able to publish only one article out of the mass of material. The idea that this was all that could be turned to account out of the life work of an industrious student made him resolve not to "wait to amass notes before he began to write, but that in his case writing and study should go side by side."

not untinged with cynicism, of his conversation blinded many of his contemporaries, in an age singularly suspicious of brilliancy, to the great qualities he undoubtedly possessed.[1]

John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, created a peer by Mr. Gladstone, belonged to Europe rather than to Britain. The grandson of the famous admiral and prime minister of Ferdinand IV of Naples, he belonged to the nobility of several nations and his education, though he desired to go to Cambridge, had, owing to his being a Roman Catholic, to be continental. He was, as all here are well aware, considered one of the most learned of men; yet it was a surprise to many when the Crown made him, in 1895, Regius Professor of History at Cambridge in succession to Sir John Seeley, the author of *Ecce Homo*. Few believed that a somewhat elderly nobleman would exercise so inspiring an influence as a teacher. Yet such was the case. From his inaugural lecture on *The Study of History*, Acton captured the attention of a university in which the school of history had hitherto made but little progress. The history school grew by leaps and bounds and it began to bear fruit in the *Cambridge Modern History*, which the new professor had planned. Acton was primarily interested in church history from his desire to liberalize the Church of Rome. A believer in the Church, he was on the side of the earlier modernists in opposition to the Ultramontanism of

[1] Besides writing his *History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation* (1882–1897), and many other works, Creighton founded the *English Historical Review* and edited it for five years. As bishop of Peterborough he did not relax his literary activities and published his *Cardinal Wolsey*, a veritable masterpiece, and his *Queen Elizabeth*. The admirable way he discharged his episcopal duties is gratefully remembered; and is a proof that a modern bishop of a rural diocese can and ought to be occupied in other work than that of organization. His promotion to London in 1897, the labor of which killed him in less than four years in January, 1901, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven, is deeply to be regretted. An article on Creighton and Stubbs appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* (October, 1905).

1870; and one of the most striking examples of the way in which he guided the studies of his pupils in that direction is seen in the remarkable chapter at the end of the second volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* on the Catholic revival by his favorite pupil Mr. Reginald Vere Lawrence. Lord Acton is one of the few men who have not suffered by the publication of their works after death; his lectures and correspondence having been edited with loving care by Dr. Figgis and Mr. Lawrence.[1]

Frederick William Maitland. Though a great lawyer, not primarily interested in ecclesiastical affairs, Maitland deserves mention among church historians, if only for his article in the *Cambridge Modern History* on Elizabeth and for his book on *Roman Canon Law in England.* Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, Maitland competed for a fellowship in Moral Science with three other men who won distinction in after life. The successful candidate was James Ward, the present professor at Cambridge; and with Maitland in his failure were William Cunningham, the distinguished political economist, so well-known in America, and the Hon. Arthur Lyttleton, afterwards bishop of Southampton. As Downing Professor of the Laws of England Maitland attracted the best historians; and it is generally conceded that his conception of the medieval relations between the English Church and the Papacy is far more correct than that of Stubbs and the ecclesiastics, who, to quote his brilliant epigram, called the *Ecclesia Anglicana* "Protestant before the Reformation, and Catholic ever since." He maintained, on the authority of the great Cambridge canonist Lyndewode, that the national church, so far from being sturdily independent of the Roman See, merely consisted of two provinces of Canterbury and York, which,

[1] *Lectures on Modern History* (1906); *History of Freedom and other Essays* and *Historical Essays and Studies* (1907). *A Bibliography of the Works of Lord Acton,* by W. A. Shaw, was published by the Royal Historical Society (1903).

in papal eyes, were no more united to one another than they were to Rheims or Rouen; and that the most solemn resolution of their convocations ranked far below an "extravagant," let alone a brief or bull, issued by the Roman Chancery.[1] I could say much of Maitland's influence on some young men; of his graceful presence and face shining with intellect. That he died comparatively young was a serious blow to English historical research.[2]

Thomas Hodgkin. From bishops and professors I pass to a man of business, who, like Grote, devoted his leisure to historical studies. Thomas Hodgkin, a well-known member of the Society of Friends, and a Northumberland banker, is famous as the author of eight volumes, entitled *Italy and her Invaders*, beginning with the first appearance of the Goths and concluding with the crowning of Charles the Great on Christmas day A.D. 800. A conscientious advocate of peace, he died suddenly before the war, and was spared its horrors; yet few writers showed more care in describing military operations—witness his description of the battle of the Frigidus when Theodosius defeated the troops of the rhetorician Eugenius.[3] I do not know whether a work from which I have derived so much pleasure and instruction is destined to endure as a permanent contribution; but I am sure Dr. Hodgkin was a striking figure among the scholars of his time. I remember calling on him in the September before his death and discussing his chapters on the Lombards. He was an almost ideal specimen of a north country banker with all the natural reserve which makes the courtesy of the Quaker of the old school so attractive when it breaks down in a desire to show his friendship to a guest. It may be that Hodgkin is too liter-

[1] *Roman Canon Law in England* (1898).

[2] In the second volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, ch. xvi., is a brilliant chapter by Maitland on "The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation."

[3] *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. i., chap. xi.

ary to satisfy the requirements of a rigid historian, but he has assuredly done much to introduce his countrymen to the obscure period of which he treats.[1] His grave warnings of the danger of socialism which he believed caused the downfall of Rome are worthy of thoughtful attention.[2]

J. H. Overton. I had the honor of knowing an English historian, very different in his ecclesiastical position, but with some traits in common with Hodgkin. Canon Overton of Lincoln College, Oxford, was a high churchman of the Tractarian, I had almost said of the nonjuror school. He devoted himself to the literature of the Church of the eighteenth century and perhaps he did more than anyone to redeem the clergy of that age from the reproaches leveled at them by writers of every shade. He has shown that there were among the clergy in the Church of England in his period men of eminent piety and great learning; that bishops were far from being all that Swift painted them; and that Fielding's Trullibers and Thwackums do not represent the country clergy. He had a special admiration

[1] I have in mind a criticism by a dear friend of mine Cadwallader John Bates (†1902), an enthusiastic antiquary in Northumberland, an authority on the Border Strongholds, the Roman Wall, the Percy Family, and one of the chief promoters of the County History, through whom I first came to know Dr. Hodgkin. I never knew a scholar more distrustful of literary style in an historian than he was.

[2] *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. ii., p. 612. "Will the great Democracies of the twentieth century resist the temptation to use political power as a means of material self-enrichment? With a higher ideal of public duty than has been shown by some of the governing classes which preceded them, will they refrain from robbing the Commonwealth? Warned by the experience of Rome, will they shrink from reproducing, directly or indirectly, the political heresy of Caius Gracchus, that he who votes in the Forum must be fed by the State? If they do, perhaps the world may see democracies as long lived as the dynasties of Egypt or China. If they do not, assuredly now as in the days of our Saxon forefathers, it will be found that he who is 'giver of bread' is also lord. The old weary round will recommence, democracy leading to anarchy, and anarchy to despotism, and the National Workshops of some future Gracchus will build palaces in which British or American despots . . . will guide mighty empires to ruin."

for that interesting ascetic mystic, William Law, author of the *Serious Call*. You doubtless remember that when Hurrell Froude called it a 'clever book,' Mr. Keble answered, "You might as well call the day of judgment a pretty sight." For John Wesley, Overton, who was himself rector of the elder Wesley's parish of Epworth, had an almost extravagant admiration. I remember on one occasion he lectured on him in my college rooms, and, when a very highly placed clergyman suggested that John's moral character might be open to criticism, he rose with a face blazing with indignation and exclaimed: "I do not believe Wesley really cared for anything but for the salvation of souls."[1]

Adhering to my self-imposed limitation to confine myself to those with whom I am personally acquainted, I will mention a few church historians who more properly belong to the present century. For learning I should place in the front rank Dr. Whitney, editor of the Cambridge Mediæval History and professor at King's College, London,[2] though he was equalled and perhaps surpassed, at any rate in the extent of his knowledge, by one who, but for his untimely death, might have given back to the bench of English bishops some of the glory of Lightfoot, Stubbs, and Creighton. I mean Dr. Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar.[3] Nor must I omit to mention Dr. Arthur James Mason, to whom historians are indebted for first recognizing the work of Dr. Collins. Ever since the appearance of his youthful but singularly mature essay on the *Persecution of Diocletian*,

[1] The chief publications by Canon J. H. Overton are: *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century* (1887), with C. J. Abbey; *The Nonjurors* (1902); *Life in the English Church, 1660–1714* (1885); *History of the English Church, 1714–1800* (with F. Relton) (1906). His book on Law is entitled *William Law, Non-Juror and Mystic* (1881).

[2] Dr. Whitney is chiefly an authority on the Reformation and the only work which appears after his name in the *Crockford's Clerical Directory* is *The Reformation, 1503–1648* (1907).

[3] See *Life of William Edward Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar*, by A. J. Mason (1912).

in 1875, he has been occupied in several fields of church history.[1] Dr. Frere's knowledge of the Elizabethan period and of liturgical studies would have procured him a high place in the Church were learning still a qualification to preferment.[2] Dr. Figgis's early work, *The Divine Right of Kings*, and his *From Gerson to Grotius*, show what great things he might have accomplished had he confined himself to political philosophy.[3] Dr. Hastings Rashdall's History of the Universities in the Middle Ages is truly a monumental work,[4] whilst the three volumes on Cambridge by Dr. Bass Mullinger—especially the last—are invaluable to the student of the religious currents discoverable in that mother of universities in the seventeenth century.[5] Dr. Gee's laborious researches into the state of the Elizabethan clergy will prove a mine of information.[6] Dr. Carlyle of Oxford has done valuable work in explaining the mind of the mediæval Church, and Archdeacon Hutton's manifold publications have done much to popularize the study.[7] Mr. Coulton's work on the Middle Ages cannot be overlooked, especially his *St. Francis to Dante* (1906). The early history of the

[1] Dr. Mason's contributions to church history besides his other works are: *The Mission of St. Augustine* (1897); *Thomas Cranmer* (1898); *Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church* (1905); *The Church of England and Episcopacy* (1914); and his work as editor of the *Cambridge Patristic Texts* series which he inaugurated in an edition of some of the *Orations of Gregory of Nazianzen.*

[2] Dr. Frere's chief historical apart from his liturgical works are: *English Church History under Elizabeth and James I* (1904) and *Visitation Documents*, 3 vols. (1910).

[3] Dr. Figgis has written *The Divine Right of Kings* (1896); *English History from Contemporary Sources* (1902); *From Gerson to Grotius* (1907); *The Gospel and Human Needs* (1909); *Civilization at the Cross Roads* (1912); and *Churches in the Modern State* (1913).

[4] *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (1895).

[5] *History of the University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Accession of Charles I.* (1873–1912).

[6] *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion* (1898).

[7] *History of the English Church, 1625–1714* (1903); *William Law* (1895). See the article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1911), "England, Church of," by Archdeacon Hutton (with a copious bibliography).

Church has been much neglected but the appearance of Dr. Kirsopp Lake's *Stewardship of Faith* may herald an English attempt to interpret the first days of nascent Christianity.[1]

Henry Melville Gwatkin. There remains one, whom I wish to make the principal subject of my paper in the form of a tribute to a valued friend whom I consider ought to have a place among the greatest names I have mentioned to-day, not perhaps for the work which he has left in print, but for the influence he exercised on many generations of students, for his independence of mind, and for his many other fine qualities.

Henry Melville Gwatkin was the grandson of a clergyman whose loyalist opinions forced him to leave Virginia at the time of the Revolution. His father, also a clergyman, was Senior Wrangler of his year and became in due course Fellow of St. John's. The subject of my remarks graduated in 1867 with great distinction. In Mathematics, what was then the Tripos *par excellence*, Gwatkin was 28th Wrangler, but in Classics he was 9th, thus obtaining a "double first." He also obtained first class honors in Moral Sciences and Theology. As he was already slightly deaf, short-sighted, and with a very peculiar voice, the undergraduates used to say that he must have lost a sense with every first class. But his versatility was still further displayed in his devotion to a very obscure branch of the natural sciences and he was recognized as one of the great authorities on snails' tongues and with a Mr. Cook of King's, himself a Senior Classic, he held the office of honorary curator of a scientific collection in the University.[2] Like his father he was elected a Fellow

[1] I ought perhaps to have alluded in my paper to the works of Mr. T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (1901) and *Conflict of Religion in the Early Roman Empire* (1909); though these are literary rather than distinctly historical.

[2] See the *Cambridge Review*, Nov. 29, 1916: A notice of him "as a scientist'" by A. H. C. (probably the Mr. Cook alluded to in the text).

of his college, but according to the existing statutes vacated his fellowship when he married in 1874.

At this time, as Fellows of colleges could not marry and retain their position, all avenues of promotion were closed to those who after marriage persisted in remaining in Cambridge. They could not fill the lucrative position of a college tutor. At most they could be college lecturers with very inadequate stipends. Gwatkin was therefore obliged to take private pupils, an engrossing occupation which left him but little leisure for study or research. He lectured in Church History in St. John's College and soon obtained a reputation as one of the best lecturers in Cambridge. I first went to him in 1876, my freshman year, or possibly in 1877. At this time the subject of early church history was not presented to Cambridge students in an attractive form. The textbook was Robertson's *History of the Christian Church*—a very much better book by the way than many supposed—but by the second or third chapter one was plunged into the morass of the Gnostic heresies from which it was not possible to emerge with a clear idea of anything for a long time. A saint was a saint in those days, and had to be treated with due respect. Was not Charles Kingsley refused an honorary degree at Oxford because he had written disrespectfully of St. Cyril of Alexandria in *Hypatia?*[1] Orthodoxy and, above all, conventionality reigned supreme at the ordinary lecture, where as a rule the student was led as it were through an avenue of statues of devout men and told the facts he was to remember about each. Gwatkin made the statues live and at times instead of kissing their sacred toes he, so to speak, tweaked their noses. He had a real love of goodness, and a scorn for all that he considered

[1] *Letters of Charles Kingsley*, etc. The Prince of Wales proposed Kingsley for an honorary degree; but the High Church party led by Dr. Pusey opposed it on the ground that *Hypatia* was an *immoral* book and Kingsley withdrew to avoid a vote in convocation.

low, mean, or dishonorable, wherever found. The serious minded were scandalized, but his pupils were delighted at the absence of conventionality in his lectures. Zealously orthodox as to the essentials of the Christian faith, he had no mercy on what he thought to be unwarrantable accretions or on those whom he condemned as unsanctified saints. He could appreciate an Athanasius, but had no mercy for a Jerome, whose language he characterized as "ecclesiastical Billingsgate." He made the driest subject live. I can never, for example, forget the way in which he introduced the dispute between Augustine and Pelagius and his masterly sketch of the rise of the controversy on Grace and Free Will. His very physical defects contributed to his success as a lecturer. Unable to read his notes, he poured forth his facts, walking to and fro like a wild animal in a cage. Students for the first lecture or so hardly understood what he was saying so weird was his pronunciation, but as he proceeded he literally gripped his class, and held them throughout the course. You must recollect that lecturing for the purpose of interesting a class was practically unknown at Cambridge at this time. Professorial lectures, especially in divinity, were bywords for their dreariness; and I verily believe many of the old school would have had a fit if they had been told that their lectures instructed, let alone interested or amused any undergraduates. Gwatkin's did both. In 1882 appeared his first and perhaps his most important work, *Studies of Arianism.*[1] It is not my intention to discuss it or to point out its merits or its defects. But it may interest you to know how it reveals the character of the author. He called the party of Eusebius of Cæsarea, the opponents of Arius, for their lukewarm support of Nicene orthodoxy, "Conservatives." A liberal all his life, he chose the word deliberately to brand those whom he considered too timid, and perhaps too dishonest, to make

[1] *Studies of Arianism* (1882).

what appeared innovations, even in the cause of righteousness. Again his ecclesiastical bias reveals itself in the uncritical rejection of the *Vita Antonii* as the work of Athanasius. He had an unbounded admiration for Athanasius; and to him monasticism was an abomination. He could not bear to think that a great and good man wrote a book in praise of one whom he would not have scrupled to call "a dirty monk," and he flings criticism to the winds in the rejection of the *Vita*, not to mention Philo's praise of the *Therapeutæ*.[1] On the other hand he manifests his philosophical appreciation of history in the masterly way he points out the way in which Arianism foreshadowed the fate of the Eastern Empire, by showing that it was irresistible so long as what he calls "the solid strength of Asia" was on its side. It is hardly too much to say that all he wrote was stamped by his peculiar personality.

When the Dixie Professorship was instituted, Gwatkin might reasonably have expected that his services to the study of church history would be recognized. But the electors fixed their choice on Creighton; and, though the choice was a brilliant one, Gwatkin might have felt aggrieved at being passed over. He showed no sign of mortification; and welcomed the new professor in the heartiest manner. When it is borne in mind that Gwatkin, unless I misjudge him, was not unaware of his own merits as an historian and was certainly not tolerant of those who differed from him in religious matters, his magnanimity in at once welcoming Creighton, a strong high churchman, not only as a worthy professor but as a friend, must be recognized, especially as his failure to obtain the chair condemned him to continue as a private tutor. When in 1891, he succeeded to the profes-

[1] *Studies of Arianism:* "The Legend of Anthony." Note B, pp. 98–103. Writing in the *Cambridge Review*, Nov. 29, 1916, Professor Whitney gives as an example of Gwatkin's "real tolerance of a scholar for a scholar's differences" that he chose Dom Butler to write on "Monasticism" in the *Cambridge Medieval History.*

sorship on Creighton's appointment to the bishopric of Peterborough, the two men had become the warmest of friends.

In 1905 Gwatkin was appointed Gifford Lecturer in Scotland and delivered the courses which he published in two volumes called *The Knowledge of God.*[1] It was a revelation alike of his merits and his limitations. The style is racy and readable and his grasp of universal history and its tendencies is undeniable, but it had to my mind serious defects which I did not hesitate to point out in the *Cambridge Review.* I happen to know that he was hurt at my comments and though the critique was unsigned he recognized my hand. He answered in what was, if I recollect aright, a rather sharp letter but never by word or deed did he show sign of personal resentment. His *History of the Christian Church* was delayed too long by his manifold occupations, and by what, I think, was an excess of conscientiousness. Had it appeared in the "Eighties," I verily believe it would have taken the world by storm; as it was, it seems a little out of date. But those who had heard him lecture could delight in his wise aphorisms and pungent criticisms. His chapters on Montanism are especially delightful.

Perhaps his greatest task was the publication of the first two volumes of the *Cambridge Medieval History,* to which members of the universities of all countries contributed. I cannot refrain from quoting his letter acknowledging a chapter. I write from memory:

"Dear Foakes Jackson. Your chapter has arrived: there are no 'howlers!' H. M. G." A "howler" I may remark is slang for an atrocious schoolboy blunder.

As in everything else the professor was a generous editor. He allowed his contributors to express their own views, however much they differed from his own prejudices, which

[1] *The Knowledge of God and its Historical Development* (1906).

were very marked: for he had a deep respect for a man's individuality.

Just before his death he published an admirable, wise, and patriotic answer to a Swedish pastor on England's action in the present war.[1]

I must ask the pardon of the American Society of Church History for taking this opportunity of testifying to the merits of one who was my master, counselor, and personal friend. Yet why should I do so? You whose studies are in this direction cannot be other than interested in the personality of one who had at least some connection with this country, and I feel I am doing my feeble best in his honor by testifying to his fine character and scholarship in this distant land. His loss was deeply felt by Cambridge amid her mourning for many a precious life. Of my inadequate remarks to-day I would say:

> "His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
> Munere."

[1] This remarkable letter concludes with the following words: "By the perplexity and distress of nations we know that some glorious mystery is now revealing. God keep you, sir, and guide us all and cleanse our hearts to see and receive it. My own work must now be nearly done; but I believe and verily trust that our children and our children's children will see a better, a nobler, and a more Christian Europe rising from the ashes of the old."

The letter was written September 18th and the writer died November 14th.

Early Theological Education West of the Alleghanies

By

Jesse Johnson

EARLY THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES

By Jesse Johnson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Apologetics, Xenia Theological Seminary
Xenia, Ohio

(*Read December 28, 1914*)

TWO churches of the Presbyterian family, the Associate and the Associate Reformed, were the pioneers in organizing theological education west of the Alleghanies. As they were small and their history is not generally known, this paper may open with a brief account of their origin.

Beginning about 1720, Covenanter families emigrated from Scotland and North Ireland, and settled chiefly in southern New York, southeastern Pennsylvania, and South Carolina. In 1751 the Reverend John Cuthbertson came from the presbytery in Scotland. After twenty-three years of itinerant labor, Cuthbertson, with two ministers recently come from Scotland, organized the Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery of America. This was in 1774, at Paxtang, Pennsylvania, six miles east of Harrisburg.[1]

Meantime, in 1733, the "first secession" from the Established Church of Scotland had taken place, and the Reverends Ebenezer Erskine, Alexander Moncrief, James Fisher, and William Wilson had organized the Associate Presbytery. Many families of this seceding church emigrated to the

[1] Scouller, *Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America*, 1887, pp. 9–13.

colonies, settling in eastern and southern New York and in the valley of the lower Susquehanna. In answer to their call for help, the Church in Scotland sent the Reverends Alexander Gellatly and Andrew Arnot, who in 1753 organized the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania.[1]

Thus by the time when revolutionary sentiment began to prevail in the colonies there were two denominations of Scottish dissenters living side by side in the regions named. Both felt that England had been guilty of tyranny over Scotland in religion, and that there was danger of the same in America. Their pulpits rang with revolution. Political independence of England suggested ecclesiastical independence of Scotland. The two churches were one in theology, and the points on which they would have differed in Scotland had little practical meaning where church and state were separate. It seemed that they ought to unite and also become an independent church. After numerous conferences during the years 1777 to 1782, the two churches united, and, joining names as well as organizations, constituted the Associate Reformed Church as an independent American church.[2]

But not all the members of either church went into the union. The small part of the Associate Church which held back received help from Scotland, and continued its work.[3] Growth was slow but steady. If hopeful tenacity is admirable, we must admire the small and scattered "Seceder" flock which determined to train in the opening West its shepherds for the West.

[1] Scouller, *Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America*, 1887, p. 19.

[2] Scouller, *Manual*, pp. 25 f. McKerrow, *History of the Secession Church*, 1854, pp. 333 f. *Narrative* approved by the Associate Presbytery at Philadelphia, Oct. 25, 1784, and printed with other papers in a volume entitled *A Display of the Religious Principles of the Associate Synod of North America*, Sixth Edition, 1839, pp. 58–61.

[3] McKerrow, pp. 334–336.

When the colonies had won their independence, and immigrants began to pour into the newly opened West, the urgent problem for all denominations was the supply of ministers for this great field. Ministers could not be had in sufficient numbers from beyond the sea, and it was a question whether it was wise to depend for work in the new world upon men brought up and trained in the old. Until 1784 there was no theological seminary in America. New Brunswick Seminary, began its honorable career in New York City in that year. Harvard and Yale had long had each a professorship of theology. College chairs were in some cases practically chairs of theology. Here and there a minister, with or without appointment, would take young men under his personal care and instruction.[1]

But all this was inadequate to the supply even of the East. It is the honorable distinction of one of the smallest religious forces of the country to have planted the first theological seminary west of the Alleghanies. The Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania must have had an eye to the expansion of the West, when it chose the location for its seminary. By far the greater part of the church was east of the mountains. There were congregations in eastern towns and cities, presided over by ministers of ability and good education, in some respects excelling the man who was chosen professor. Yet the Associate Presbytery chose the Reverend John Anderson, D.D., pastor of two small country congregations in what was then the Far West, namely Beaver County, Pennsylvania, near the Ohio line. The same action of the presbytery located the seminary within the bounds of one of Dr. Anderson's congregations, Service namely, and the seminary was called Service Seminary.

[1] A careful investigation of these early conditions has been made by W. O. Shewmaker, *The Training of the Protestant Ministry in the United States of America before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries*. It is to be published in the next volume of these *Papers*.

This action was taken on April 21, 1794.[1] A rough, two-story, log building was put up near Dr. Anderson's home. The first story was library and lecture-room, the second was the dormitory. Some eight hundred volumes were soon collected for the library. A term of attendance and a course of study were established. Students came, studied and slept in the dormitory, read in the library, and heard lectures in the lecture room. It was a theological seminary, the first west of the Alleghanies, the second Protestant seminary in America, the third of any faith.[2]

Professor John Anderson had come from Scotland in 1783, the first minister sent by the synod there to the help of the faithful remnant of 1782. He had received university training, and had studied theology in the Divinity Hall of the Associate Church. During the early years of Service Seminary he was the only professor. There was but one at the first in New Brunswick Seminary, in the Associate Reformed Seminary in New York City, in the Reformed Presbyterian Seminary in Philadelphia, in Princeton Seminary, and in the Associate Reformed Seminary at Pittsburgh. It was a time of transition from that form of theological education which we may call personal discipleship to the institutionalized form of to-day. The few students in Service Seminary were in close touch with the professor. He was their friend. They rode with him on horseback as he visited his people. His piety and learning deeply impressed the young men who thus enjoyed daily contact with him.

[1] Scouller, *Manual*, p. 703.

[2] It has been claimed for Service Seminary (the present Xenia Seminary) that it is the oldest Protestant theological seminary now in existence in America. This raises the question of the identity of New Brunswick Seminary with the seminary opened by Dr. John H. Livingston, in 1784, or at least the question of the continuousness of its work. In view of the statement of New Brunswick Seminary that "the lines of its professors and students have been unbroken" from 1784 (see its catalogue of 1913–1914, p. 3) the writer is disposed to make the statement in the text. St. Mary's, Baltimore (Roman Catholic), was founded in 1791.

The course of study was not broad, but concentration upon a few subjects scored them the more deeply in the mind. Didactic and polemic theology formed the chief matter of instruction. So far as human origin is concerned, the young men at Service got their theology from Holland by way of Scotland. Johannes à Marck, professor in Leyden, taught his *Didactic-Polemic Compend of Christian Theology* and his *Didactic-Polemic Medulla of Christian Theology* to an earnest Scotch student by the name of Alexander Moncrief, later one of the "four fathers of the first secession" from the Established Church of Scotland. Moncrief, as professor of theology for the Associate Church, taught the same to his own son, William Moncrief, who later became professor of theology for the church and taught his pupils the same system from Marck. John Anderson was one of these pupils, and when he took charge of Service Seminary he used Marck's *Compend* as the basis of his lectures, and his pupils used the *Medulla* as a handbook. Professor Anderson would lecture three or four hours a day. This time no doubt included conversation on questions raised.

The question naturally arises how, in such circumstances, students could be kept busy. In answering it is to be noted that much importance was attached to the reading of books. The gathering of a library is shown by the early records of the first seminaries to have been in every case a matter of earnest effort. The eight hundred volumes would help Dr. Anderson to keep his pupils busy, particularly as he himself was a great lover and reader of books. In Marck's *Medulla*, moreover, which of course they had in Latin, there are about a thousand paragraphs, exceedingly condensed, each with its array of Scriptures to be studied. A later professor adapted the book to the needs of a later generation of students by rendering it very freely into English in the form of question and answer, making of it a book many times as large as the little Latin handbook, and even the expanded

work was thought very compact.[1] The pages of the *Medulla* bristle with unpointed Hebrew text, with Greek text, and with objections supposed to be leveled from all sides at the positions taken. Arians, Pelagians, Jesuits, Socinians, Papists, Arminians, Stoics, Epicureans, Cartesians, and many others have their opinions stated and are summarily answered. A real study of the unpretentious little book would require, besides familiarity with Latin, some knowledge of Hebrew, more of Greek, and a considerable acquaintance with the history of philosophy and of Christian doctrine. There was an occasional half-day's ride with the professor as he was doing his pastoral work, and there were sermons to be written and preached for a real criticism.

The theology taught was of course of the Calvinistic type, not, however, the supralapsarianism from which Arminius revolted, but the infralapsarianism of the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Confession. Moreover, Professor Anderson had been reared in a communion in which the doctrines of the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* were cordially accepted, and he would urge upon his students the privilege and duty of pressing on all men, not as elect nor as under conviction, but as sinners, the divine offer of Christ as a Saviour. This unconditional universalism of the gospel offer was prominent in the teaching of the Associate Church from the first, and to-day stands as a heritage in the confessional standards of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, appearing as one of eighteen points on which, it is thought, the Westminster divines did not speak with sufficient clearness.[2]

Dr. Anderson labored in Service Seminary till 1819. In 1821, the Seminary was moved to Canonsburgh, Pennsyl-

[1] The reference is to Abraham Anderson's *Lectures on Theology*, a book of 768 closely printed pages.

[2] *Subordinate Standards* of the United Presbyterian Church, 1906, especially Article VII, p. 557.

vania, a few miles southwest of Pittsburgh. It was not until 1835 that a second professorship was established, that of Biblical Literature and Ecclesiastical History. In 1855 the Seminary was removed to Xenia, Ohio, its present location. The Associate Reformed Synod of the West founded a theological seminary at Oxford, Ohio, in 1839. It was moved to Monmouth, Illinois, in 1857, and in 1874 was consolidated with Xenia Seminary. Accordingly, Xenia Seminary inherits the history and traditions of seminaries of both the churches which, in 1858, united to form the United Presbyterian Church of North America.

If too much attention seems to have been given to one small seminary, the defense is that it was the only theological seminary west of the Alleghanies until 1825. In December of that year the Associate Reformed Synod of the West, embracing western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky, opened a seminary in Pittsburgh, which is now the Pittsburgh Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church.[1] Its first professor was the Reverend Joseph Kerr, D.D., pastor of the Associate Reformed congregation in Pittsburgh. It is illustrative of the smallness of the beginnings of theological education in the West and also of the self-denying spirit of the pioneer professors that Dr. Kerr received two hundred dollars a year, and that of the eight hundred dollars paid him for the four years of his work in the Seminary, he gave seven hundred dollars to establish a fund to assist young men in preparing for the ministry, and the other hundred to start a library.[2]

If the decade 1825–1835 be not too late to include under the word "early" of our subject, brief mention can be made of larger work done under more favorable conditions by larger churches. Three Presbyterian seminaries were opened during that decade: the Western in 1827 in "Allegheny-

[1] Scouller, *Manual*, p. 708. It was formerly called Allegheny Seminary.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 407.

town"; McCormick in 1830 at Hanover, Indiana; and Lane in 1832 on Walnut Hills, near Cincinnati.

After getting Princeton fairly established, the Presbyterian Church concentrated her efforts for theological education for some years upon that school. The General Assembly, in 1818, declined to advise the synods on the question of establishing synodical schools of theology,[1] and it was not till 1825 that action was taken to establish a second Assembly seminary. In 1825 the Assembly declared it "expedient forthwith to establish a Theological Seminary in the West, to be styled the Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States."[2] The location was not fixed until the meeting of the Assembly in 1827, when, "after considerable discussion and various motions," "Alleghenytown" was victorious over Cincinnati by two votes.[3] A class of four young men entered in November, 1827, and by a temporary appointment the Reverend E. P. Swift and the Reverend Joseph Stockton began the work of instruction.[4] The Assembly, in 1828, fixed the salary of a professor at $1500.00.[5]

For years before the decision against Cincinnati as the home of the Western Seminary, far-seeing men of the lower Ohio region had strongly felt that a seminary should be located farther west than Pittsburgh. The brethren east of the Alleghanies, where the bulk of the Church still was, could hardly be expected to realize how an empire was growing with the "Queen City of the West" as its center. This feeling in that great region shows itself in various attempts to found schools about the year 1830. The Synod of Ken-

[1] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1789 to 1820*, pp. 686 f.; Assembly's *Digest*, Baird's Collection, Second Edition, 1858, p. 458.

[2] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1821 to 1835*, p. 148; Baird, *Digest*, p. 44.

[3] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1821 to 1835*, pp. 208 f.; Baird, *Digest*, pp. 445 f.

[4] *Bulletin of Western Seminary* (February, 1914), p. 20.

[5] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1821 to 1835*, p. 235.

tucky requested the General Assembly of 1829 to take under its care a theological seminary which the Synod had just established at Danville, Kentucky, under the charter of Center College. The Assembly asked the Synod to wait a year on account of "the immaturity of their present arrangements."[1] In 1830 the Synod of Indiana established a theological school in connection with its college at Hanover, Indiana. This school was later removed to New Albany, Indiana, and finally to Chicago as McCormick Seminary.[2]

Cincinnati was to have her seminary. By private enterprise, two Baptist brothers by the name of Lane assisting the Presbyterian brethren, the foundation of Lane Seminary was laid.[3] Lyman Beecher said in 1830 that the greatest thought that had ever entered his mind was the thought of educating ministers in the West and for the West.[4] In 1832 Lane was opened with Dr. Lyman Beecher as Professor of Theology and Dr. Thomas J. Biggs as Professor of Church History, Dr. Calvin E. Stowe being added to the force the next year as Professor of Biblical Literature.[5]

The extension of the term "early" to 1835 permits mention of the opening of Oberlin Seminary in 1833. The originators of the idea were a Presbyterian minister, John J. Shipherd, and Philo P. Stewart, a missionary to the Indians in Mississippi. It was intended as a strictly missionary enterprise. Charles G. Finney came in 1835 and made Oberlin a center for the teaching of evangelism. Oberlin early opened its doors to all races and both sexes. It has

[1] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1821 to 1835*, pp. 263, 271.

[2] See Sketch of McCormick Seminary, art., "Theological Seminaries," *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. xi., New York, 1911, p. 372 f.

[3] "Historical Statement," in *Catalogue of Lane Seminary for 1913–1914*, p. 15.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[5] "Historical Statement," in *Catalogue of Lane Seminary for 1913–1914*, pp. 16 f.

never been organically connected with any ecclesiastical body.[1]

Two Lutheran seminaries deserve mention for brave struggles in their day of small things. The Theological Seminary of Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, was first located by the Ohio Synod at Canton, Ohio, where Professor Wilhelm Schmidt, a graduate of Halle, was pastor of five congregations in the neighborhood of Canton. That was in 1830. The next year the Seminary and Professor Schmidt were transferred to Columbus.[2]

The first building for Concordia Lutheran Seminary, founded 1839, located now in St. Louis, was made of logs, in the woods of Perry County, Missouri, by the hands of the first members of the Faculty. The Seminary was founded to furnish a ministry for the immigrants from Saxony who had fled from religious prosecution in the Fatherland.[3]

[1] See sketch, article "Theological Seminaries," *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

[2] See sketch, *ibid.*

[3] See sketch, *ibid.*

LIST OF MEMBERS

ADDISON, DANIEL DULANY, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of All Saints' Church, Brookline, Mass.; D.D. (Union College, 1901).

AINSLIE, PETER, Disciple, Rev.; minister Christian Temple, Baltimore, Md.; D.D. (Drake University, 1911; Yale University, 1914); LL.D. (Bethany College, 1914).

ALLISON, WILLIAM HENRY, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History, Colgate Theological Seminary, Hamilton, N. Y.; Ph.D. (University of Chicago, 1905).

ARCHIVES OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

ARPEE, LEON, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Nelsonville, Ohio.

AYER, JOSEPH CULLEN, JR., Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1893).

BAIRD, ANDREW BROWNING, Presbyterian, Rev.; acting principal, and professor of Church History, Manitoba College; Winnipeg, Canada; D.D. (Knox College, Toronto, 1902).

BALLANTYNE, JAMES, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Knox College, Toronto, Canada; D.D. (Manitoba College, 1906; Queen's University, 1908).

BIRD, REMSEN DUBOIS, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California; B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1912).

BLAND, SALEM GOLDSWORTH, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Church History in Wesley College, Winnipeg, Manitoba; D.D. (Queen's University, Kingston, 1903).

BROMER, EDWARD SHEPPARD, Reformed (German), Rev.; pastor First Reformed Church, Greensburg, Pa.; D.D. (Ursinus College, 1904).

Brown, Oswald Eugene, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Church History, School of Religion, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; A.M. (Christian University, Missouri, 1893); B.D. (Vanderbilt University, 1890). Address 1917–18: Army Y. M. C. A. Headquarters, Military Branch, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Brown, William Montgomery, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Arkansas (retired), Galion, Ohio; D.D. (Kenyon College, 1898; University of the South, 1899).

Buckley, James Munroe, Methodist, Rev.; editor of *The New York Christian Advocate;* D.D. (Wesleyan University, 1872); LL.D. (Emory and Henry College, 1882); L.H.D. (Syracuse University).

Bulson, Howard Alfred, Baptist, Rev.; pastor First Baptist Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey; B.D. (Rochester Theological Seminary, 1911).

Burgess, Thomas, Episcopalian, Rev.; priest in charge, St. Barnabas's Mission, Augusta, Maine.

Burr, George Lincoln, professor of Medieval History in Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; LL.D. (University of Wisconsin, 1904); Litt.D. (Western Reserve University, 1905).

Carter, James, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History and Sociology in Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pa.

Case, Clifford Philip, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; pastor Reformed Dutch Church, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; diploma, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1900; D.D. (Hope College, Michigan, 1916).

Case, Shirley Jackson, Baptist; professor of Early Church History and New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago; M.A. (Acadia University, 1896); B.D. (Yale University, 1904); Ph.D. (Yale University, 1906).

Chorley, Edward Clowes, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of St. Philip's, Garrison-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Historiographer of the Diocese of New York.

Christian, John Tyler, Baptist, Rev.; pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Little Rock, Ark.; D.D. (Bethel College, Ky., 1890), LL.D. (Keachie College, La., 1898); 1917: chairman of the Religious Welfare Committee of Hattiesburg, Miss. (Camp Shelby).

Christie, Francis Albert, Unitarian, layman; professor of Church History in Meadville Theological Seminary, Pa., D.D. (Amherst College, 1909); sustaining member.

Clark, Calvin Montague, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine; D.D. (Williams College, 1914).

Coleman, Christopher Brush, professor of History and acting professor of Church History, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.; B.D. (University of Chicago, 1899); Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1914).

Cooke, Richard Joseph, Methodist, Rev.; bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church; Portland, Oregon; D.D. (University of Tennessee;) LL.D. (Willamette University).

Corwin, Charles Edward, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; editor of the Documents of the Collegiate Reformed Church in New York; Highland Park, New Brunswick, N. J.; M.A. (Rutgers College, 1907); B.D. (*ibid.*, 1895).

Demarest, William Henry Steele, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; president of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1901); LL.D. (Columbia University, 1910; Union College, 1911; University of Pittsburgh, 1912).

Dosker, Henry Elias, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Louisville Theological Seminary, Ky.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1894); LL.D. (Central University of Kentucky, 1905).

Douglas, George William, Episcopalian, Rev.; special preacher, Church of the Beloved Disciple, New York City; lecturer, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia; M.A. (Trinity College, 1874); D.D. (*ibid.*, 1895; University of the South, 1899); S.T.D. (Hobart College, 1885).

Dryer, George Herbert, Methodist, Rev.; Rochester, N. Y.; M.A. (Syracuse University, 1875); D.D. (*ibid.*, 1888).

Dudley, John Henry Mervyn, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor of the First Congregational Church, Elizabeth, N. J.; 1917: captain of infantry, Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J.

Emerton, Ephraim, Unitarian, layman; professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1876).

Evjen, John O., Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History in Augsburg Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn.; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1903).

Faulkner, John Alfred, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Church History in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.; D.D. (Wesleyan University, 1897, Acadia College, 1902).

Ferree, Barr, New York City.

Flick, Alexander Clarence, Methodist, layman; professor of European History in Syracuse University; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1901); Litt.D. (Otterbein University, 1904).

Fonkalsrud, Alfred O., Lutheran, Rev.; rector and superintendent of the Norwegian Lutheran Deaconess Home and Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y.; M.A. (Augustana College, 1908); Ph.D. (New York University, 1913).

Forsander, Nils, Lutheran, Rev.; professor emeritus of Theology in the Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill.; D.D. (Augustana College, 1894).

Fortune, A. W., professor of Church History and Doctrine, College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.

Foster, Herbert Darling, Congregationalist, layman; professor of History, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.; A.M. (Harvard University, 1892); Litt.D. (University of Geneva, Switzerland, 1909).

Fritschel, George John, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History, Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa; D.D. (Thiel College, 1916).

Geer, Curtis Manning, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Medieval and Modern Church History, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1894).

Gifford, William Alva, Methodist Church of Canada, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada; B.D. (Victoria College, Toronto, 1909); S.T.M. (Harvard University, 1914); Th.D. (*ibid.*, 1915).

GILLESPIE, JAMES PACKARD, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of Presbyterian Church, Katonah, N. Y.; M.A. (Columbia University, 1911); B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1907).

GOOD, JAMES ISAAC, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Reformed Church History and Liturgics in the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, O.; D.D. (Ursinus College, 1887); LL.D. (Ursinus College, 1911).

GOTWALD, FREDERICK GEBHART, Lutheran, Rev.; General Secretary Board of Education of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; editor *Lutheran Church Work and Observer;* B.D. (Wittenberg College, 1891); D.D. (Midland College, 1908).

GREENE, EVARTS BOUTELL, Congregationalist, layman; professor of History, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois; Ph.D. (Harvard, 1893).

GREENE, WALTER LACKEY, Seventh Day Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History and Religious Education in Alfred Theological Seminary, Alfred, N. Y.; B.D. (Alfred Theological Seminary, 1905).

GUMMEY, HENRY RILEY, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of St. James's Church, East Downingtown, Pa.; S.T.D. (in course, Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1905).

GUY, HARVEY HUGO, Disciple, Rev.; professor of the History of Christianity and the History of Religion, Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, California; B.D. (Drake University, 1895); Ph.D. (Yale University, 1902).

HAMMARSKÖLD, J. GOTTFRIED, Episcopalian, Rev.; superintendent of Swedish Missions; D.D. (Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, 1913).

HANNAH, IAN CAMPBELL, Episcopalian, layman; professor of Church History in Oberlin Graduate School of Theology; M.A. (Cambridge, England, 1899); D.C.L. (King's College, Nova Scotia, 1904); F.S.A. (1917).

HARRIS, WILMER CARLYLE; instructor in European History, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio; M.A. (University of Michigan, 1909); Ph.D. (University of Chicago, 1914).

HAUGHWOUT, LEFFERD M. A., Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of Church of the Holy Trinity, Ponce, Porto Rico.

HAYS, ARTHUR ALEXANDER, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; B.D. (McCormick Seminary, 1909); D.D. (Washington and Jefferson College, 1915).

HEATHCOTE, CHARLES WILLIAM, Lutheran, Rev.; pastor Boulevard Lutheran Church, Philadelphia; instructor in Church History and Religious Education, Theological Department, The Temple University, Philadelphia; A.M. (University of Pennsylvania, 1913); S.T.D. (The Temple University, 1910).

HERMAN, THEODORE FREDERICK, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Systematic Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed (German) Church, Lancaster, Pa.; D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1910).

HERRON, CHARLES, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Missions, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Omaha, Neb.; D.D. (Miami University, 1901; University of Pittsburgh, 1912).

HESSELGRAVE, CHARLES EVERETT, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor Center Congregational Church, South Manchester, Conn.; B.D. (Drew Theological Seminary, 1900); Ph.D. (New York University, 1909); D.D. (Middlebury College, 1915).

HIRSCH, ARTHUR HENRY, Methodist; professor of History, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa; A.M. (Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, 1906); B.D. (University of Chicago, 1907); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1915).

HÖRMANN, ARTHUR, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of History, Northwestern College, Watertown, Wis.; Ph.D. (Berlin, 1902).

HOOD, EDMUND LYMAN, Congregationalist, Rev.; president of Atlanta Theological Seminary; Ph.D. (New York University, 1899).

HORR, GEORGE EDWIN, Baptist, Rev.; president, and professor of Church History, Newton Theological Institution; D.D. (Brown University, 1896).

HOUGH, LYNN HAROLD, professor of Historical Theology, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois; B.D. (Drew Theological Seminary, 1905); D.D. (Mt. Union Scio College, 1912).

HOWARD, OSWALD WILFRED, Anglican, Rev.; professor of Apologetics and Church History, Diocesan Theological College, Montreal, Canada; B.D. (Provincial Synod of Canada, 1900); D.D. (*ibid.*, 1905).

HOWLAND, ARTHUR CHARLES, professor of Medieval History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1897).

HULBERT, HENRY WOODWARD, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor at Groton, Conn.; D.D. (Middlebury College, 1900; Marietta College, 1900).

JACKSON, FREDERICK JOHN FOAKES, Anglican, Rev.; fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; professor of Christian Institutions, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; M.A. (University of Cambridge, 1882); B.D. (*ibid.*, 1903); D.D. (*ibid.*, 1905).

JACKSON, FREDERICK WOLCOTT, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of English Language and Literature, Bloomfield Theological Seminary, Bloomfield, N. J.; Ph.B. (Columbia College, 1888).

JACOBS, CHARLES MICHAEL, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.; D.D. (Muhlenberg College, 1913).

JACOBS, HENRY EYSTER, Lutheran, Rev.; dean of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.; D.D. (Pennsylvania College, 1877); LL.D. (Thiel College, 1892); S.T.D. (Muhlenberg College, 1907).

JOHNSON, EDWARD PAYSON, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; professor of Church History and Church Government in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1896).

JOHNSON, JESSE, United Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Apologetics, Xenia Theological Seminary, Xenia, Ohio; D.D. (Grove City College, 1897).

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KEEP, AUSTIN BAXTER, Episcopalian, layman; member of Department of History, College of the City of New York; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1911).

KELSO, JOHN MASON, Methodist, Rev.; pastor Methodist Episcopal Church, Crapo, Md.; B.D. (Drew Theological Seminary, 1907).

KITTELL, JAMES SHEPARD, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; pastor First Reformed Church, Albany, N. Y.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1908).

KLEIN, ARTHUR JAY, Presbyterian, layman; professor of History and Economics, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.; A.M. (Columbia University, 1909); B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, 1909); Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1917).

KOLYN, MATTHEW, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; professor of Church History, Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan; diploma, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1880; D.D. (Hope College, 1908).

KRETZMANN, KARL, Lutheran, Rev.; pastor St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, of Tremont, New York City; diploma of Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. (1899).

LAMBERTON, CLARK DIVEN, Presbyterian, layman; assistant professor of Biblical Literature, Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio; graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, 1906; Ph.D. (Princeton University, 1908).

LAPIANA, GIORGIO F., teaching fellow in Harvard University; S.T.L. (Theological School of Monreale, Sicily, 1900); Licencié ès lettres (University of Geneva, 1908); Ph.D. (University of Palermo, 1912).

LEACH, HENRY GODDARD, Episcopalian, layman; secretary of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York City; M.A. (Harvard, 1906); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1908).

LEINBACH, PAUL SEIBERT, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; editor of the *Reformed Church Messenger*, Philadelphia, Pa.; D.D. (Heidelberg University, Ohio, 1912).

Leonard, William Andrew, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; D.D. (St. Stephen's College, Annandale, 1880; Washington and Lee University, 1885).

Lewis, Leicester Crosby, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History, Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; A.M. (Columbia University, 1911); B.D. (General Theological Seminary, 1912).

Library of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Library of the General Theological Seminary, New York City.

Library of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

Loetscher, Frederick William, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.; editor of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society;* Ph.D. (Princeton University, 1906); D.D. (Lafayette College, 1914).

Logan, John Hubbard, Baptist; professor of History, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; diploma of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1904.

Lyttle, Charles Harold, Unitarian, Rev.; minister, Second Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.; S.T.B. (Meadville Theological School, 1910).

McGiffert, Arthur Cushman, Congregationalist, Rev.; president and professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Ph.D. (Marburg, 1888), D.D. (Western Reserve University, 1892; Harvard University, 1906); LL.D. (Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, 1917).

McGill, David Frazier, United Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.; D.D. (Muskingum College, Ohio, 1892).

McGlothlin, William Joseph, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; D.D. (Bethel College, 1898); Ph.D. (Berlin, 1901); LL.D. (Furman University, 1909).

Macmillan, Kerr Duncan, Presbyterian, layman; president of Wells College, Aurora, New York; B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1897); S.T.D. (Hobart College, 1913).

McNeill, John Thomas, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Rev.; professor of Church History, Westminster Hall, Vancouver, B.C.; M.A. (McGill University, 1910); B.D. (Westminster Hall, 1912).

Miller, Edward Waite, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; New York City; D.D. (Union College, 1892).

Miller, Rufus Wilder, Reformed (German); secretary of Publication and Sunday-School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States; D.D. (Heidelberg University, Ohio, 1903; Lafayette College, 1907).

Mitchell, Edwin Knox, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Græco-Roman and Eastern Church History in Hartford Theological Seminary; D.D. (Marietta College, 1896).

Moldenhauer, J. Valdemar, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, N. Y.

Moses, Walter Vivian, Moravian, Rev.; professor in the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa.; M.A. (Moravian College, 1910); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1914).

Mosher, Philip Wheeler, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of St. Peter's Church, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; lecturer on New Testament in DeLancey Divinity School, Diocese of Western New York; M.A. (St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y., 1888); B.D. (Trinity College, Toronto, 1917).

Mudd, John Alexis, Episcopalian, layman; U. S. N., Navy Yard, Boston, Mass.; sustaining member.

Muller, James Arthur, Episcopalian, Rev.; teaching fellow in Church History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; B.D. (*ibid.*, 1910); Ph.D. (Princeton University, 1915).

Neve, Juergen Ludwig, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of History of Doctrines and Symbolics in the Hamma Divinity School of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio; D.D. (Wittenberg College, 1902; Carthage College, Carthage, Ill.).

Newman, Albert Henry, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; LL.D. (Southwestern Baptist University, 1883; McMaster University, Toronto, 1914); D.D. (Mercer University, 1885).

NICHOLS, ROBERT HASTINGS, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.; Ph.D. (Yale University, 1896).

NORTH, ERIC MCCOY, Methodist, layman; associate editor Sunday-School Publications, Methodist Episcopal Church; Cincinnati, Ohio; M.A. (Wesleyan University, 1910; Columbia University, 1910); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1914); diploma, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1913.

O'CONNELL, DENNIS JOSEPH, Roman Catholic, Rt. Rev.; bishop of Richmond; Richmond, Virginia; S.T.D. (Propaganda of Rome, 1877).

PANNKOKE, OTTO HERMANN, Lutheran, Rev.; Executive Secretary, The New York Reformation Quadricentenary Committee, 1916–17; diploma, Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1908; B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1915).

PORTER, THOMAS JACKSON, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Campinas, Est. de San Paolo, Brazil; Ph.D. (Westminster College, Pa., 1897); S.T.D. (Miami University, 1917).

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RAUSCHENBUSCH, WALTER, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History in Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.; D.D. (University of Rochester, 1902).

REED, RICHARD CLARK, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Columbia Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina; D.D. (King College, 1890); LL.D. (King College, 1906).

RHINELANDER, PHILIP MERCER, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pa.; A.M. (University of Oxford, England, 1900); D.D. (Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., 1911; Columbia University, 1912); D.C.L. (Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, 1912); LL.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1912).

RICHARDS, GEORGE WARREN, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, Lancaster, Pa.; D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1902).

RICHARDSON, ERNEST CUSHING, Librarian of Princeton University, N. J.; A.M. (Amherst College, 1883; Princeton University, 1896); diploma of Hartford Theological Seminary (1883); Ph.D. (Washington and Jefferson College, 1887).

RIGGS, JAMES FORSYTH, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1892).

ROBINSON, CHALFANT, preceptor, (with the rank of assistant professor) in History and Politics, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.; Ph.D. (Yale, 1902).

ROBINSON, GEORGE WASHINGTON, Congregationalist; secretary of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

ROBINSON, JAMES HOWARD, Methodist, Rev.; professor of History, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.; M.A. (Columbia University, 1911); B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1911); Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1916).

ROCKWELL, WILLIAM WALKER, Congregationalist, Rev.; associate professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; S.T.L. (Marburg, 1903); Ph.D. (Göttingen, 1914); sustaining member.

ROLLINS, WALLACE EUGENE, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.; B.D. (Yale University, 1895); D.D. (Virginia Theological Seminary, 1915).

ROWE, HENRY KALLOCH, Baptist; associate professor of Church History and Sociology, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Center, Mass.; Ph.D. (Boston University, 1905).

RUSTON, WILLIAM OTIS, Presbyterian, Rev.; dean and professor of Sacred Languages and Literature, German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest, Dubuque, Iowa; D.D. (Lenox College, 1886); LL.D. (Lenox College, 1907).

SADLER, ALFRED JOHN, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Jersey City, N. J.; diploma of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1904; B.D. (*ibid.*, 1917).

SCHAFF, DAVID SCHLEY, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.; D.D. (Illinois College, 1891; University of Geneva, Switzerland, 1909).

SCHENCK, PHILIP LOUIS, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor, Plymouth Church, Framingham, Mass.; A.M. (University of Michigan, 1904); B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1907).

SCHWARZE, WILLIAM NATHANIEL, Moravian, Rev.; professor of Moravian Church History and Homiletics in the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, archivist of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America, president of the Moravian Historical Society; Ph.D. (Moravian College and Theological Seminary, 1910).

SCRATCHLEY, HENRY PETER, Episcopalian, Rev.; Poultney, Vermont.

SEVERANCE, ALLEN DUDLEY, Presbyterian; professor of History, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio; sustaining member.

SHAW, JOHN MACKINTOSH, Presbyterian Church of Canada, Rev.; professor of Apologetics and Church History in the Presbyterian College, Halifax, Nova Scotia; M.A. (University of Edinburgh, 1899).

SHELDON, HENRY CLAY, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Systematic Theology in Boston University; D.D. (Lawrence University, 1887).

SHEWMAKER, WILLIAM ORPHEUS, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of Presbyterian Church, Albion, Ill.; diploma, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1892; Ph.D. (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1914).

SHOW, ARLEY BARTHLOW, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Medieval History in Stanford University, California.

SIMPSON, SAMUEL, Congregationalist, Rev.; Tolland, Conn.; Ph.D. (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1902).

SMITH, HEMAN C., Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Apostle; general historian of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Lamoni, Iowa.

SMITH, PRESERVED, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1907).

SOCKMAN, RALPH WASHINGTON, Methodist, Rev.; pastor Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City; M.A. (Columbia University, 1913); diploma (Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 1916); Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1917).

STAUFFER, VERNON, Disciple, Rev.; dean of Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio.

STEPHENS, HENRY MORSE, professor of History, University of California, Berkeley, California; M.A. (Balliol College, Oxford, 1892); Litt.D. (Harvard, 1909).

STOUT, JAMES COFFIN, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Bible Teachers Training School of New York City; B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1910).

STUART, CHARLES MACAULAY, Methodist, Rev.; editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Chicago, Ill.; D.D. (Garrett Biblical Institute, 1885; Wesleyan University, 1906); Litt. D. (Syracuse University, 1904; Ohio Wesleyan University, 1909).

SULLIVAN, WILLIAM LAURENCE, Unitarian, Rev.; minister, All Souls' Church, New York City; S.T.L. (Catholic University of America, 1900).

SWEET, WILLIAM WARREN, Methodist, Rev.; professor of History, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana; B.D. (Drew Theological Seminary, 1906); Th.M. (Crozer Theological Seminary, 1907); A.M. (University of Pennsylvania, 1909); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1912).

SWING, ALBERT TEMPLE, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor emeritus of Church History, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio; D.D. (Oberlin College, 1901).

THOMAS, ALLEN CLAPP, Friends; minister; professor emeritus of History, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

TIDBALL, THOMAS ALLEN, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor emeritus of Ecclesiastical History in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; D.D. (William and Mary College, 1878).

TIPPLE, EZRA SQUIER, Methodist, Rev.; president and professor of Practical Theology, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.; diploma, Drew Theological Seminary, 1887; A.M. (Syracuse University, 1885); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1886); D.D. (*ibid.*, 1899); LL.D. (*ibid.*, 1913).

TRYON, HAROLD HARRISON, Presbyterian; assistant professor of Biblical Philology and Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; B.D. (*ibid.*, 1904).

VEDDER, HENRY CLAY, Baptist; professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.; D.D. (University of Rochester, 1897).

WALKER, WILLISTON, Congregationalist; professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1888), D.D. (Western Reserve University, 1894; Amherst College, 1895; Yale University, 1901; University of Geneva, Switzerland, 1909; Harvard University, 1912).

WASHBURN, HENRY BRADFORD, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; sustaining member.

WEBER, HENRY JACOB, Presbyterian, Rev.; dean and professor of Theology and Church History in the Bloomfield Theological Seminary, Bloomfield, N. J.; Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1894); D.D. (German Theological School of Newark, N. J., 1909).

WENTZ, ABDEL ROSS, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of History and Biblical Literature, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.; A.M. (Pennsylvania College, 1907); Ph.D. (George Washington University, 1914).

WILSON, JOHN A., United Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.; D.D. (Monmouth College, Illinois, 1887; Wooster University, Ohio, 1887; Amity College, Iowa, 1887); LL.D. (Wabash College, 1903).

WRIGHT, HENRY BURT, professor of Christian Methods, School of Religion, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Ph.D. (Yale, 1903).

** * * Members are requested to communicate to the Secretary any corrections or additions to the data contained in this list.*

DECEASED MEMBERS

ALLEN, ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD, died in Cambridge, Mass., Wednesday, July 1, 1908.

BACON, LEONARD WOOLSEY, died at Assonet, Mass., Sunday, May 12, 1907.

COE, EDWARD BENTON, died in New York City, Thursday, March 19, 1914.

CORWIN, EDWARD TANJORE, died at North Branch, N. J., Monday, June 22, 1914.

DRURY, JOHN BENJAMIN, died in New Brunswick, N. J., Sunday, March 21, 1909.

DWIGHT, HENRY OTIS, died at Roselle, N. J., Tuesday, June 19, 1917.

EWELL, JOHN LEWIS, died in Washington, D. C., Wednesday, March 16, 1910.

FERGUSON, HENRY, died at Hartford, Conn., Friday, March 30, 1917.

HULBERT, ERI BAKER, died in Chicago, Ill., Sunday, February 17, 1907.

JACKSON, GEORGE ANSON, died at Swampscott, Mass., Wednesday, May 8, 1907.

JACKSON, SAMUEL MACAULEY, died at Washington, Conn., Friday, August 2, 1912.

KROTEL, GOTTLOB FREDERICK, died in New York City, Friday, May 17, 1907.

LEA, HENRY CHARLES, died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, October 24, 1909.

LEWIS, ABRAM HERBERT, died at Westerly, R. I., Tuesday, November 3, 1908.

NICUM, JOHN, died in Rochester, N. Y., Monday, November 1, 1909.

NORCROSS, GEORGE, died at Carlisle, Pa., Monday, March 8, 1915.

ROGERS, JAMES WILLIAM, died at Walton, Ky., 1910.

SCOTT, HUGH MCDONALD, died in Chicago, Ill., Thursday, April 29, 1909.

SPAETH, (PHILIP FRIEDRICH) ADOLPH (THEODOR), died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, June 26, 1910.

SPIEKER, GEORGE FREDERICK, died at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, September 7, 1913.

TIFFANY, CHARLES COMFORT, died at Northeast Harbor, Me., Tuesday, August 20, 1907.

WHITAKER, WILLIAM FORCE, died at Elizabeth, N. J., Sunday, July 9, 1916.

STATISTICS OF MEMBERSHIP

	Living	Deceased
1908 (Vol. I.)	61	4
1910 (Vol. II.)	60	14
1912 (Vol. III.)	90	15
1914 (Vol. IV.)	117[1]	18
1916 — —	144[2]	20
1917 (Vol. V.)	159[2]	22

[1] Including three Libraries.

[2] Including five Libraries.

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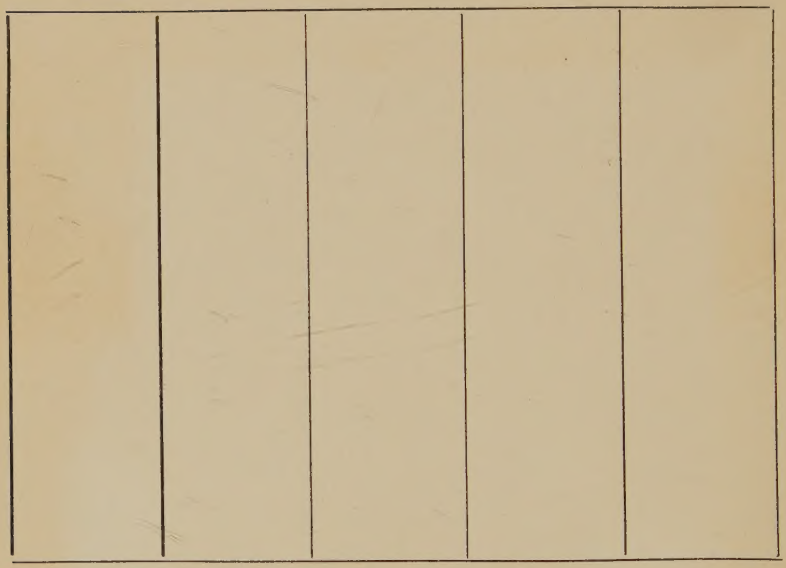

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